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C. SALLUSTII CRISPI

OPERA:

ADAPTED TO THE HAMILTONIAN SYSTEM

BY A

LITERAL AND ANALYTICAL TRANSLATION.

BY

JAMES HAMILTON,

AUTHOR OF THE HAMILTONIAN SYSTEM.

A NEW AND MORE ACCURATE EDITION,

CAREFULLY REVISED, CORRECTED, AND OMISSIONS SUPPLIED; AND
WHAT IS OBSCURE OR UNINTELLIGIBLE, IN HAMILTON'S
TRANSLATION, EXPLAINED.

BY

THOMAS CLARK.



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P R E F A C E.

THIS American edition of Hamilton's interlinear Sallust has been carefully revised, the errors corrected, and the omissions in the London edition supplied; for, without the greatest care on the part of the translator, such omissions often occur in interlinear translations. These omissions are indicated, in this edition, by placing the English words in brackets [] under the Latin, as, page 40 :

Permixture vino.

[Mingled with wine.]

Permixture vino has, through oversight, been omitted in the text; so also in page 45 :

Genere atque formâ præterea;

[In lineage and beauty moreover;]

and in page 50 :

Pro magnitudine reipublicæ.

[For the greatness of the republic.]

Here are three important omissions in the space of ten pages; and these omissions occur nearly in the same proportion throughout the London edition.

By a strict adherence to the Hamiltonian plan of translating, many English sentences will be formed, not only very uncouth, but also often unintelligible.

This Hamilton has sometimes sought to obviate, by adding explanatory sentences in parenthesis (), as :

Quid reliqui habemus.

What of remaining have we. (What have we left).

But still he has left many sentences unintelligible, or nearly so. Such sentences the American editor has explained by adding words or sentences included in brackets [] instead of the parentheses () of Hamilton, as :

Ipse esse cum telo, item jubere alios ;

He himself was with a weapon, also to order others ; [he himself was armed,

Festinare dies que noctes.

and ordered others to be so]. To hasten days and nights. [He was actively employed day and night.]

In the following sentences, though explanatory words have been inserted by Hamilton, still the sentences are left obscure ; and the American editor has found it necessary to explain them by sentences in brackets, [], as :

Familiarem rem deesse nobis etiam ad necessaria.

Private things (property) to be wanting to us even to (for) necessary

Ulti maxumè

(matters). [While we want the necessaries of life.] Having avenged chiefly

nostrum sanguinem.

Alia

(best) our blood. [After having sold our lives dearly.] Another

licentia est aliis

(different) license is to different (persons). [There is a difference in the freedom of action.]

It was necessary to make similar explanations also in a great many other sentences throughout the book.

THOMAS CLARK.

TESTIMONIALS

AS TO

THE MERITS OF

The Interlinear Translation of the Classics.

Testimony of celebrated men in favour of the interlineary system of translations, as being best adapted for learning a language.

MILTON.—We do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together as much Latin and Greek as might be learned easily and delightfully in one year.

If, after some preparatory grounds of speech by their certain forms got into memory, they were led to the *praxis* thereof in some chosen short book *lessoned thoroughly to them*, [that is, read and translated to them], which would bring the whole language quickly into their power. This I take to be the most natural and most profitable way of learning languages.

[Children] should begin with the chief and necessary rules of some good grammar, either that now used, or any better; and while this is doing, their speech is to be fashioned to a distinct and clear pronunciation, as near as may be to the Italian, especially in the vowels. Next, to make them expert in the usefulest points of grammar, some easy and delightful book should be read to them.

[By this, Milton means that the teacher should read some easy Latin book to his pupils, and translate and explain it repeatedly, until they understand such Latin book, and can themselves translate it.]

JOHN LOCKE, author of the "Essay on the Human Understanding."—When I consider what ado is made about a little Latin and Greek, how many years are spent in it, and what a noise and business it makes to no purpose, I can hardly forbear thinking that the parents of children still live in fear of the schoolmaster's rod, which they look on as the only instrument of education; as a language or two to be his whole business. How else is it possible that a child should be chained to the oar, seven, eight, or ten of the best years of his life, to get a language or two, which, I think, might be had at a great deal cheaper rate of pains and time, and be learned almost in playing.

[The first project of Locke] is to trouble the child with no grammar at all, but to have Latin as English has been, without the perplexity of rules, talked into him, for, if you will consider it, Latin is no more unknown to a child, when he comes into the world, than English; and yet he learns English without a master, rule, or grammar; and so might he Latin, too, as Tully did, if he had somebody always to talk to him in this language. And when we so often see a French woman teach an English girl to speak and read French perfectly in a year or two, without any rule of grammar, or anything else but prattling to her, I cannot but wonder how gentlemen have overseen this way for their sons. If, therefore, a man could be got, who, himself speaking good Latin, would always be about your son, talk constantly to him, and suffer him to speak and read nothing else, this would be the true and genuine way, and that which I would propose, not only as the easiest and best, wherein a child might, without pains or chiding, get a language which others are wont to be whipt for at school six or seven years together; but also as that wherein, at the same time, he might have his mind and manners formed, and be instructed in all other parts of knowledge of things that fall under the senses, and require little more than memory. But if such a man cannot be got who speaks good Latin, the next best thing is to have him taught as near this way as may be, which is by taking some easy and pleasant book, such as *Æsop's Fables*, and writing the English translation (made as literal as can be) in one line, and the Latin words which answer each of them, just over it in another. These let him read every day, over and over again, till he perfectly understands the Latin; and then go on to another Fable,

till he is also perfect in that, not omitting what he is already perfect in, but sometimes reviewing that to keep it in his memory.

The formation of the verb first, and afterwards the declensions of the nouns and pronouns, perfectly learned by heart, facilitate his acquaintance with the genius and manner of the Latin tongue, which varies the signification of verbs and nouns, not as the modern languages do, by particles prefixed, but by changing the last syllable. More than this of grammar, I think, he need not have, till he can read himself Sanctii Minerva.

As he advances in acquiring a knowledge of words, he must advance, *pari pasu*, in obtaining a thorough and critical knowledge of grammar. When by this way of interlining Latin and English one with another, he has got a moderate knowledge of the Latin tongue, he may then be advanced a little farther, to the reading of some other easy Latin book, such as Justin, or Eutropius; and, to make the reading and understanding of it the less tedious and difficult to him, let him help himself with the English translation. Nor let the objection, that he will then know it only by rote, fright any one. This, when well considered, is not of any moment against, but plainly for, this way of learning a language. For languages are only to be learned by rote; and a man who does not speak English and Latin perfectly by rote, so that having thought of the thing he would speak of, his tongue, of course without thought of rule or grammar, falls into the proper expression and idiom of that language, does not speak it well, nor is master of it. Languages were made, not by rules of art, but by accident, and the common use of the people; and he that speaks them well has no other rule but that, nor anything to trust to but his memory, and the habit of speaking, after the fashion learned from those that are allowed to speak properly, which, in other words, is only to speak by rote.

SYDNEY SMITH.—The Hamiltonian system, on the other hand: 1st. Teaches an unknown tongue by the closest interlinear translations, instead of leaving a boy to explore his way by the lexicon or dictionary. 2d. It postpones the study of grammar till a considerable progress has been made in the language, and a great degree of practical grammar has been acquired. 3d. It substitutes the cheerfulness and competition of the Lancasterian

system for the dull solitude of the dictionary. By these means a boy finds he is making a progress, and learning something from the very beginning. He is not overwhelmed with the first appearance of insuperable difficulties; he receives some little pay from the first moment of his apprenticeship, and is not compelled to wait for remuneration till he is out of his time. The student, having acquired the great art of understanding the sense of what is written in another tongue, may go into the study of the language as deeply and as extensively as he pleases. The old system aims at beginning with a depth and accuracy which many men never will want, which disgusts many from arriving even at moderate attainments, and is a less easy, and not more certain road to a profound skill in a language, than if attention to grammar had been deferred to a later period.

In fine, we are strongly persuaded that, the time being given, this system will make better scholars; and, the degree of scholarship being given, a much shorter time will be needed. If there is any truth in this, it will make Mr. Hamilton one of the most useful men of his age; for, if there is anything which fills reflecting men with melancholy and regret, it is the waste of mortal time, parental money, and puerile happiness, in the present method of pursuing Latin and Greek.

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*Virgil, Horace, Cæsar, Cicero, and Sallust, have already been published on the interlinear plan, and will be succeeded by the other classics (Greek as well as Latin) as speedily as is consistent with accurate preparation, and the importance of the undertaking.*

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# SALLUSTII CATILINA.

## SALLUST'S CATILINE.



*I* DECET omnis (omnes) homines, qui student  
 It becomes all men, who study  
 sese præstare cæteris animalibus, niti  
 themselves to excel to other animals, to endeavour with [their]  
 summâ ope ne transeant vitam silentio  
 utmost might (that) they may not-pass [their] life in silence  
 veluti pecora, quæ natura finxit prona atque  
 even-as cattle, which nature has formed prone and  
 obedientia ventri. Sed omnis nostra vis est  
 obedient to the belly. But all our force is  
 sita animo et corpore. Utimur imperio animi,  
 situate in mind and body. We use the command of the mind,  
 magis servitio corporis. Alterum est  
 more (than) the service of the body. The other (the one) is  
 commune nobis cum Dîs, alterum cum belluis.  
 common to us with the gods, the other with beasts.  
 Quo videtur mihi rectius quærere gloriam opibus  
 By which it seems to me more-right to seek glory by the powers  
 ingenii quam virium, et quoniam  
 of the understanding than of forces (bodily strength), and since  
 vita ipsa, quâ fruimur est brevis efficere  
 the life self, which we enjoy is short to effect [make]  
 memoriam nostri quam maximè longam.  
 the memory (remembrance) of us as most long.  
 Nam gloria divitiarum et formæ  
 [Endure most long.] For the glory of riches and of shape

est fluxa atque fragilis; virtus habetur  
(beauty) is fleeting and frail; virtue is had

clara que æterna. Sed magnum certamen  
(accounted) bright and eternal. But a great contest

fuit diu inter mortalis (mortales), ne militaris  
has been a long-time between mortals, whether military

res procederet magis vi corporis, an  
thing (tactics) would advance more by force of body, or

virtute animi. Nam et priusquam incipias  
by virtue of mind. For and (even) before-that thou mayest begin

est opus consulto, et ubi  
(thou beginnest) (there) is need with (of) deliberation, and when

consulueris facto  
thou mayest have deliberated (hast deliberated) of deed [need of doing]

mature. Ita utrumque indigens per se, alterum  
seasonably. So either (is) defective by self, the other

eget auxilio alterius. Igitur initio  
(the one) wants the aid of the other. Therefore in the beginning

reges (nam id fuit primum nomen imperii in  
kings (for that has been the first name of government in

terris) diversi pars exercebant  
the lands) (world) different (in disposition) part did exercise

ingenium, alii corpus: etiam tum vita  
the understanding, others the body: also then the life

hominum agitabatur sine cupiditate, sua  
of men was spent without covetousness, their-own

satis placebant cuique. Verò postea quam  
were-sufficiently-pleasing [to] every-one. But after that

Cyrus in Asiâ, Lacedæmonii et Athenienses  
Cyrus in Asia, (and) the Lacedemonians and Athenians

in Græciâ, cœpère subigere urbes atque nationes;  
in Greece, began to subdue cities and nations;

habere lubidinem dominandi causam  
to have [began to consider] the lust of ruling a cause

belli, putare maxumam gloriam in  
of war, [and] to think [that] the greatest glory [was] in

maxumo imperio; tum demum compertum est  
the greatest command; then at length it was found

periculis atque negotiis, ingenium plurimum posse  
by dangers and affairs, [that] the understanding to be most-powerful

in bello. Quòd si virtus animi  
(could effect most) in war. But if the virtue of the mind

regum atque imperatorum valeret, ita in  
of kings and of commanders might prevail, [equally] so in

pace ut in bello, humanæ res haberent sese  
peace as in war, human things would have themselves

æquabilius atque constantius; neque  
(would be) more-even and more-steady; neither

cerneres aliud ferri aliò, neque  
wouldst thou perceive another (one thing) to be borne elsewhere, neither

omnia mutari ac misceri. Nam imperium  
all (things) to be changed and to be mingled. For government

retinetur facîle iis artibus, quibus initio  
is retained easily by those arts, by which in the beginning

partum est. Verum ubi pro labore, desidia;  
it was-acquired. But when instead-of labour, idleness;

pro continentiâ et æquitate, lubido atque  
instead-of continence and equity, lust and

superbia invasêre, fortuna immutatur simul  
pride came-in (scized), fortune is changed together

cum moribus. Ita imperium transfertur semper à  
with manners. So authority is transferred always from

minus bono ad quemque optimum. Quæ  
(the) less good (man) to each best. Whatever

homines arant, navigant, ædificant,  
(things) men plough, navigate, build, (agriculture, navi-

omnia parent virtuti. Sed  
gation, architecture), all obey to virtue (mental powers). But

multi mortales, dediti ventri, atque somno, indocti  
many mortals, addicted to the belly, and to sleep, untaught

que inculti, transiêre vitam sicuti  
and unpolished, have passed life as (persons)

peregrinantes: quibus profecto contra naturam  
travelling: to whom indeed [contrary to nature] (their)

corpus fuit voluptati, anima oneri. Ego  
body has been for pleasure, the soul for a burden. I

æstumo vitam que mortem eorum juxta, quoniam  
estimate the life and death of them equally, since

siletur de utrâque. Verùm enimvero  
it is silent (nothing is said) concerning each. But truly

is demum videtur mihi vivere et frui animâ, qui,  
he at length appears to me to live and to enjoy life, who,

intentus aliquo negotio, quærit famam præclari  
intent on some business, seeks the fame of illustrious

facinoris aut bonæ artis. Sed in magnâ copiâ  
enterprise or of good art. But in the great abundance

rerum, natura ostendit aliud iter  
of things, nature points-out another (different) journey (course)

alii. Est pulchrum benefacere reipublicæ,  
to another (person). It is fair to do-well to the republic,

etiam benedicere est haud absurdum. Licet  
also to speak-well is not absurd. It is-lawful

feri clarum vel pace vel bello: et multi  
to be made illustrious either by peace or by war: and many

laudantur, qui fecêre, et qui scripsêre facta  
are praised, who have done, and who have written deeds

aliorum. Ac tametsi par gloria haudquaquam  
of others. And although equal glory by-no-means

sequatur scriptorem et actorem rerum, tamen  
may follow (follows) the writer and actor of things, yet

videtur quidem mihi in primis arduum scribere res  
it seems [indeed to me] particularly difficult to write things

gestas: primùm, quòd facta sunt exæquanda  
carried-on (history): first, because deeds are to-be-equalled

dictis; dein quia plerique putant  
by sayings (language); afterwards because most think

delicta, quæ reprehenderis, dicta  
the faults, which thou mayest have reprovèd, (to be) said from

malevolentîâ et invidiâ; ubi memores de magnâ  
ill-will and envy; when thou mayest record of the great

virtute bonorum; quæ quisque putet  
virtue of good (men); whatever (things) each may think

facilia factu sibi, accipit æquo  
(thinks) easy to be done to (by) himself, he receives with even

animo; supra ducit pro falsis, veluti  
 mind; beyond (that) he leads (deems) [all] for false, [or] as  
 ficta. Sed ego, adolescentulus, initio latus sum  
 feigned. But I, a very-young-man, in the beginning was-borne  
 studio\* ad Rempublicam; que ibi multa  
 by inclination to the Republic; and there many (things)  
 fuère advorsa mihi. Nam audacia, largitio,  
 have been adverse to me. For boldness, bribery,  
 avaritia, vigeabant pro pudore, pro abstinentiâ,  
 covetousness, did flourish instead-of modesty, instead-of abstinence,  
 pro virtute; quæ tametsi animus  
 instead-of virtue; which (things) although (my) mind  
 insolens malarum artium, aspernabatur;  
 unaccustomed of (to) bad arts, did despise;  
 tamen imbecilla ætas, corrupta ambitione, tenebatur  
 yet (my) weak age, corrupted by ambition, was held  
 inter tanta vitia. Ac cum dissentirem ab  
 among so-great vices. And when I would dissent from  
 reliquis malis moribus, nihilominus eadem cupido  
 the rest (others') bad manners, nevertheless the same desire  
 honoris, quæ vexabat cæteros, fama et invidia  
 of honour, which did harass the rest, fame and envy  
 (vexabant) me. Igitur ubi animus requievit ex  
 (did harass) me. Therefore when (my) mind rested from  
 multis miseriis atque periculis, et decrevi  
 many miseries and dangers, and I resolved [that] (my)  
 reliquam ætatem habendam procul  
 remaining age to-be-had [should] (be passed) at-a-distance  
 à Republicâ; non fuit consilium  
 from the Republic (public affairs), it has not-been (my) design  
 conterere bonum otium socordiâ atque desidiâ; neque  
 to consume good leisure in sloth and idleness; nor  
 verò agere ætatem, intentum servilibus  
 truly to act (spend) age (my life), intent on servile  
 officiis, colendo agrum aut venando: sed  
 offices, in cultivating field (land) or in hunting: but

\* Or, *from study*, which it appears is the author's meaning, from what follows; "sed à quo incepto studioque me mala ambitio," &c.

regressus eòdem, à quo incepto que  
 having returned to the same (pursuit), from which undertaking and  
 studio, mala ambitio detinuerat me, statui  
 study, bad ambition had detained me, I resolved  
 perscribere res gestas Romani  
 to write-through things carried-on (the achievements) of the Roman  
 populi carptim, uti quæque videbantur digna  
 people with-selection, as each did seem worthy (of)  
 memoriâ: magis eò, quòd animus erat  
 memory: more on-this-account, because (my) mind was  
 liber mihi à spe, metu, partibus Reipublicæ.  
 free to me from hope, fear, [and the] factions of the Republic.  
 Igitur absolvam paucis de  
 Therefore I will acquit (dispose) in a few (words) concerning [I will  
 conjuratione Catilinæ quàm  
 relate in a few words] the conspiracy of Catiline as  
 verissumè potero. Nam existumo id facinus  
 most-truly [as] I shall be-able. For I think that enterprise  
 in primis memorabile novitate sceleris atque  
 particularly memorable from the novelty of (its) wickedness and  
 periculi: de moribus cujus hominis pauca  
 danger: concerning the morals of which man a few (things)  
 sunt explananda, prius quam faciam initium  
 are to-be-explained, before-that I may make (I make) a beginning  
 narrandi.  
 of relating.

Lucius Catilina, natus nobili genere,  
 Lucius Catiline, born (descended) of a noble race,  
 fuit magnâ vi et animi et corporis,  
 was (a man) (of) great strength and (both) of mind and of body,  
 sed malo que pravo ingenio. Intestina bella,  
 but (of) a bad and depraved disposition. Intestine wars,  
 cædes, rapinæ, civilis discordia fuère grata huic  
 slaughters, rapines, civil discord were agreeable to this  
 ab adolescentiâ; que ibi exercuit  
 (man) from (his) youth; and there (in them) he exercised  
 suam juventutem. Corpus patiens inediæ,  
 his youth. (His) body (was) patient of hunger,



algoris, vigilæ, supra quàm est  
 of cold, of watchfulness (want of sleep), beyond than (what) is  
 credibile cuiquam: animus audax, subdolus,  
 credible to any-one: (his) mind adventurous, crafty,  
 varius, simulator ac dissimulator cujuslibet rei,  
 changeable, a counterfeiter and dissembler of any thing,  
 appetens alieni, profusus sui; ardens in  
 desirous of another's (property), lavish of his own; ardent in  
 cupiditatibus; satis eloquentiæ, parum sapientiæ;  
 desires; (he had) sufficient of eloquence, little of wisdom;  
 vastus animus semper cupiebat immoderata,  
 (his) vast mind always did desire extravagant,  
 incredibilia, nimis alta. Post dominationem  
 incredible, (and) too high (things). After the domination  
 Lucii Sullæ, maxuma lubido republicæ  
 (usurpation) of Lucius Sylla, a very-great lust (ambition) of the republic  
 capiundæ invaserat hunc, neque  
 to be-taken (of seizing the republic) had seized him, nor  
 habebat quidquam pensi quibus  
 had he any of thought [nor did he care] by what  
 modis assequeretur id, dum pararet regnum  
 means he might attain that, while he should procure the kingdom  
 sibi. Ferox animus agitabatur magis que  
 for himself. (His) fierce mind was agitated more and  
 magis in dies, inopiâ familiaris rei,  
 more daily, from want of familiar thing (private property),  
 et conscientiâ scelerum; utraque quæ auxerat  
 and a consciousness of crimes; both which he had increased  
 his artibus, quas memoravi supra:  
 by those arts (practices), which I have recorded above:  
 præterea corrupti mores civitatis incitabant,  
 moreover the corrupt manners of the state did incite (him),  
 quos, luxuria atque avaritia, pessuma mala,  
 which (manners), luxury and avarice, the worst evils,  
 ac diversa inter se, vexabant.  
 and different between themselves, did harass (did pervert).  
 Res ipsa videtur hortari, quoniam  
 The thing (subject) self seems to exhort (me), since

tempus admonuit de moribus civitatis,  
time (the occasion) has reminded (me) of the manners of the state,  
repetere supra ac disserere paucis  
to retrace above [farther back] and discuss in a few (words)  
instituta majorum domi que militiæ,  
the institutions of (our) ancestors at-home and abroad [in war],  
quomodo habuerint rempublicam,  
in-what-manner they may have had (they managed) the republic,  
que quantam reliquerint, et disserere  
and how-great they may have left (they left it), and [to discuss]  
ut paulatim immutata, facta sit  
how by-degrees having been changed, it may have been made  
pessuma ac flagitiosissima ex  
(it became) the worst and most-disgraceful from (having been)  
pulcherrumâ.  
the fairest.

Trojani, sicut ego accepi, initio,  
The Trojans, as I have received (have heard), in the beginning,  
condidère atque habuère urbem Romam;  
(first) built and had (inhabited) the city Rome;  
qui, Æneâ duce, profugi vagabantur  
who, Æneas (being their) leader, [as] exiles did wander  
incertis sedibus;  
in uncertain seats (having no fixed habitation); and with these  
Aborigines, agreste genus hominum, sine legibus,  
the Aborigines, a rustic race of men, without laws,  
liberum atque solutum. Postquam hi  
free and loosed (unrestrained). After-that they  
convenêre ibi in una moenia dispari  
assembled there into one (the same) walls (city) of different  
genere, dissimili linguâ, viventes alius alio  
race, of dissimilar language, living one (each) in a different  
more, est incredibile memoratu, quam facile  
custom, it is incredible to-be-recorded, how easily  
coaluerint. Sed postquam  
they may have coalesced (they incorporated). But after-that  
res eorum aucta civibus, moribus,  
the thing (state) of them having been increased by citizens, morals



agris, videbatur satis prospera, que  
 (moral institutions), lands, did appear sufficiently prosperous, and  
 satis pollens, invidia orta est ex opulentiâ,  
 sufficiently powerful, envy arose out-of opulence,  
 sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur.  
 as most of mortal (things) are had (are conducted).

Igitur reges que finitimi populi  
 Therefore kings and neighbouring peoples (people) (began)  
 tentare bello. Pauci ex amicis esse auxilio.  
 to-try (them) in war. A few of (their) friends to be for aid

Nam cæteri, perculsi metu, aberant  
 (brought them aid). For the rest, stricken with fear, kept-alooft  
 à periculis. At Romani, intenti domi que  
 from dangers. But the Romans, intent at-home and  
 militiæ, festinare, parare, alius  
 of war (abroad), (began) to hasten, to prepare, the other (one)

hortari alium ire obviam hostibus; tegere  
 to exhort another to go towards the enemies; to protect  
 libertatem, patriam, que parentes armis.  
 liberty, (their) country, and parents with arms.

Post ubi propulerant pericula virtute  
 Afterward when they had repulsed dangers by virtue (valour)  
 portabant auxilia sociis atque amicis; que parabant  
 they did carry aids to allies and friends; and did prepare

amicitias magis beneficiis dandis quàm  
 (procure) friendships rather by favours to-be-given than  
 accipiundis.  
 to be received. [Rather by giving, than by receiving favours.]

Habebant legitimum imperium, regium nomen  
 They did have a legitimate government, a royal name

imperii: delecti quibus corpus erat infirmum  
 of government: chosen (men) to whom the body was weak  
 annis, ingenium validum sapientiâ,  
 by years, (their) understanding strong with wisdom,

consultabant reipublicæ. Hi, vel  
 did consult (legislate) for the republic. These, either from (their)  
 ætate vel similitudine curæ, appellabantur  
 age or from the similitude of (their) care, were called

Patres. Post ubi regium imperium, quod  
Fathers. Afterwards when the royal government, which

initio fuerat libertatis  
in the beginning had been (established) (for the sake) of liberty

conservandæ, atque reipublicæ augendæ, convertit  
to-be-preserved, and of the republic to-be-increased, turned

in superbiam, que dominationem, more  
(itself) into pride and tyranny, (their) practice

immutato, fecere sibi annua imperia,  
having been changed, they made for themselves annual governments,

binos imperatores: eo modo putabant humanum  
two rulers: by that means they did think the human

animum posse minimè inolescere per licentiam.  
mind to-be-able least to-grow-insolent through excess-of-power.

Sed eâ tempestate coepere quisque extollere  
But at that time they began each to extol

se magis que magis, que habere  
(exert) himself more and more, and to have (his)

ingenium in promptu: nam boni  
understanding in readiness: for good [and talented] (men)

sunt suspensiores regibus quàm mali; que  
are more-suspected to kings than bad [and stupid]; and

aliena virtus est semper formidolosa his.  
strange (another's) virtue is always formidable to these.

Sed est incredibile memoratu, quantum civitas  
But it is incredible to be recorded, how-much the state

creverit brevè, libertate  
may have increased (increased) in a-short-time, liberty

adeptâ: tanta cupido gloriæ incesserat.  
having been obtained: so-great a desire of glory had come-in.

Jamprimum juvenus, simul-ac erat  
Now-first the youth, as-soon-as it was (they were)

patiens belli, discebat in castris militiam  
able-to-endure war, did learn in the camps war

usu per laborem; que habebat lubidinem  
from habit through exercise; and did have pleasure

magis in decoris armis, et militaribus equis, quàm  
rather in beautiful arms, and military horses, than

in scortis atque conviviis. Igitur labos erat non  
 in harlots and banquets. Therefore labour was not  
 insolitus talibus viris, non-ullus locus asper aut  
 unusual to-such men, not-any place rough or  
 arduus; armatus hostis non formidolosus:  
 difficult (inaccessible); an armed enemy [was] not formidable:  
 virtus domuerat omnia. Sed maxumum certamen  
 virtue had subdued all (things). But a very-great contest  
 gloriæ erat inter ipsos: quisque properabat ferire  
 for glory was among them: each did hasten to strike  
 hostem, ascendere murum, conspici dum faceret  
 the enemy, to scale the wall, to be-beheld whilst he might do  
 tale facinus: putabant eas divitias,  
 (did perform) such enterprise: they did think these riches,  
 eam bonam famam, que magnam nobilitatem.  
 that good fame, and great nobility (distinction).  
 Erant avidi laudis, liberales pecuniæ; volebant  
 They were desirous of praise, liberal of money; they did will  
 ingentem gloriam, honestas divitias. Possem  
 (wished for) great glory, honourable riches. I could  
 memorare in quibus locis Romanus populus  
 to relate in what places the Roman people  
 fuderit maxumas copias hostium parva  
 may have routed (routed) very-great forces of the enemies with a small  
 manu; quas urbes munitas naturâ  
 band; what cities fortified by nature (they) [the Roman people]  
 ceperit pugnando, ni ea res  
 may have taken (they took) in-fighting, unless that thing  
 traheret nos longius ab incepto. Sed  
 would draw us farther (too far) from (our) undertaking. But  
 profectò fortuna dominatur in omni re; ea celebrat  
 indeed fortune controls in every thing; she celebrates  
 que obscurat cunctas res magis ex lubidine  
 and eclipses (depresses) all things rather from caprice  
 quàm ex vero. Res gestæ  
 than from truth (merit). The things carried-on (deeds)  
 Atheniensium, sicut ego existumo, fuere satis  
 of the Athenians, as I think, have been sufficiently

amplæ que magnificæ; verùm tamen aliquanto  
 ample (great) and magnificent; but however by somewhat

minores quàm feruntur famâ: sed quia  
 less than they are borne (represented) by fame: but because

magna ingenia scriptorum provenere ibi,  
 great understandings (abilities) of writers sprang-up there,

facta Atheniensium celebrantur per terrarum  
 the deeds of the Athenians are celebrated through the whole

orbem pro maxumis. Ita virtus eorum, qui  
 world for the greatest. So the virtue of those, who

fecere ea, habetur tanta, quantum  
 have done those (things), is accounted so-great, as

præclara ingenia potuere extollere  
 the brilliant understandings (of their writers) have been able to extol

ea, verbis. At ea copia nunquam  
 them [by their writings]. But that abundance (of writers) never

fuit Romano populo: quia quisque  
 has been to the Roman people: because each

prudentissimus erat maxumè negotiosus: nemo  
 most-skilful (man) was most active: no-one

exercebat ingenium sine corpore: quisque  
 did exercise the understanding without the body: each

optumus malebat facere quam dicere;  
 best (man) did rather-wish to do than to say [and to have];

sua benefacta laudari ab aliis, quam ipse narrare  
 his-own good-deeds to be praised by others, than he to relate

aliorum. Igitur boni mores  
 (those) to others. Therefore good manners (practices)

colebantur domi, que militiæ  
 were celebrated [cultivated] at-home, and at-war (in the camp) (their)

concordia erat maxuma, avaritia minuma, jus  
 unanimity was very-great, (their) selfishness very-small, justice

que bonum valebat apud eos non magis legibus  
 and good did prevail among them not more by laws

quàm naturâ. Exercebant jurgia,  
 than by nature. They did exercise (practise) contentions,

discordias, similitates cum hostibus; cives certabant  
 discords, feuds with the enemies; citizens did vie

civibus de virtute. Erant  
 with citizens concerning virtue [in deeds of valour]. They were  
 magnifici in suppliciis deorum, parci  
 magnificent in (their) worships (worship) of the gods, frugal  
 domi, fideles in amicos. Curabant  
 of (at) home, faithful toward (their) friends. They did manage  
 que se que rempublicam his duabus artibus,  
 both themselves and the republic by these two arts  
 audaciâ in bello, æquitate, ubi pax  
 (practices), by boldness in war, by equity, when peace  
 evenerat. Quarum rerum ego habeo hæc maxuma  
 had happened. Of which things I have these very-great  
 documenta, quòd in bello vindicatum est  
 proofs, that in war it-was-vindicated (punishment was  
 sæpiùs in eos, qui pugnaverant in hostem  
 visited) oftener on those, who had fought against the enemy  
 contra imperium, que qui revocati, excesserant  
 contrary-to command, and who having been recalled, had departed  
 tardiùs prælio, quàm qui  
 more slowly (too slowly) from battle, than (on those) who  
 ausi-erant relinquere signa, aut pulsi  
 had-dared to leave-behind (their) standards, or having been repulsed  
 cedere loco: vero agitabant imperium  
 to retire from place (their post): but they did conduct the government  
 in pace, magis beneficiis quàm metu, injuriâ  
 in peace, rather by kindnesses than by fear, an injury  
 acceptâ, malebant ignoscere quam  
 having been received, they did rather-wish to pardon than  
 persequi. Sed ubi respublica crevit labore  
 to avenge (it). But when the republic increased by industry  
 atque justitiâ, magni reges domiti bello;  
 and justice, [when] great kings (were) conquered in war;  
 feræ nationes, et ingentes populi subacti  
 savage nations, and great peoples (people) subdued  
 vi, Carthago, æmula Romani imperii,  
 by force, [when] Carthage, the rival of the Roman empire,  
 interiit ab stirpe, cuncta  
 perished from (its) stem, (was wholly destroyed), [when] all

maria que terræ patebant, fortuna cœpit sævire  
seas and lands did lie-open, fortune began to rage

ac miscere omnia. Otium, divitiæ,  
and confound all (things). Peace, [repose] riches, (things)

optandæ aliis, fuere oneri que  
to be wished to others, [for by some] were for a burden (a burden) and

miseriæ iis, qui facile toleraverant dubias  
wretchedness to those, who easily had endured doubtful (critical)

atque asperas res. Igitur primò cupido pecuniæ,  
and rough things. Therefore at-first the desire of money,

dein imperii, crevit: ea fuere quasi materies  
then of command, increased: those were as-if the source

omnium malorum. Namque avaritia subvertit fidem,  
of all evils. For avarice overturned faith,

probitatem, que cæteras bonas artes; pro  
honesty, and other good arts (qualities); instead-of

his edocuit superbiam crudelitatem, negligere  
these it taught (them) pride, cruelty, to neglect.

deos, habere omnia venalia; ambitio subegit  
the gods, to have all things venal; ambition compelled

multos mortales fieri falsos; habere aliud  
many mortals to be made (become) false; to have one

clausum in pectore, aliud promptum in  
(thing) shut-up in the breast, another ready on (the)

linguâ; æstumare amicitias que inimicitias non  
tongue; to estimate friendships and enmities not

ex re, sed ex commodo;  
according-to the thing (moral worth), but according-to advantage;

que habere bonum vultum magis quam  
and to have a good (fair) countenance rather than (an honest)

ingenium. Hæc primò crescere paulatim,  
disposition. These at-first (began) to increase by-degrees,

interdum vindicari. Post ubi contagio, quasi  
sometimes to be punished. Afterwards when the contagion, as-if

pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata:  
a pestilence invaded (them), the state (was) changed:

imperium factum crudele que intolerandum,  
the government (was) made cruel and intolerable,



ex justissimo que optumo. Sed primò ambitio  
 from the most-just and the best. But at-first ambition

exercebat animos hominum magis quàm avaritia :  
 did exercise the minds of men more than avarice:

quod vitium tamen erat propius virtutem.  
 which vice [of ambition] however was nearer-to virtue.

Nam bonus ignavus æquè exoptant sibi  
 For the good (and) the indolent equally wish for themselves

gloriam, honorem, imperium, sed ille  
 glory, honour (preferment) authority, but he [the ambi-

nititur verâ viâ ;  
 tious man] (the former) endeavours (for them) in the true way [by ho-

quia bonæ artes desunt huic,  
 nourable means]; because good arts (qualities) are-wanting to this

contendit dolis atque fallaciis.  
 (the latter), [avarice], he strives (for them) by deceits and fallacies.

Avaritia habet studium pecuniæ, quam nemo  
 Avarice has a zeal [and desire] of money, which no

sapiens concupivit. Ea, quasi imbuta malis  
 wise (man) has coveted. It, as-if imbued with bad

venenis, effœminat corpus que virilem animum : est  
 poisons, enervates the body and manly mind : is

semper infinita, insatiabilis : neque minuitur  
 always unbounded, insatiable : neither is [it] lessened

copiâ neque inopiâ. Sed postquam Lucius Sulla,  
 by plenty nor by want. But after Lucius Sylla,

republicâ receptâ armis, habuit malos  
 the republic having been recovered by arms, had bad (unsuccess-

eventus ex bonis initiis ; omnes rapere  
 ful) results from good beginnings ; all (began) to-plunder

trahere : alius cupere domum, alius  
 to-draw (to take away) : another (one) to covet a house, another

agros. Victores habere neque modum  
 lands. [That] the conquerors to have [had] neither manner (bounds)

neque modestiam : facere fœda que  
 nor modesty (moderation) : to do [and did] disgraceful and

crudelia facinora in civis. Huc  
 cruel crimes against (their) fellow-citizens. Hither



accedebat quòd Lucius Sulla, contra  
 did come (to this was to be added), that Lucius Sylla, contrary-to  
 morem majorum, habuerat exercitum,  
 the custom of (our) ancestors, had (treated) the army,  
 quem ductaverat in Asiâ, luxuriosè que nimis  
 which he had often-led in Asia, intemperately and too  
 liberaliter, quòd faceret fidum sibi.  
 liberally, in-order-that he might make (it) faithful to himself.  
 Amœna, voluptaria loca facilè molliverant ferocis  
 Pleasant, voluptuous places easily had enervated the fierce  
 (feroces) animos militum in otio. Ibi primùm  
 minds of the soldiers in peace. There first  
 exercitus Romani populi insuevit amare,  
 the army of the Roman people became-accustomed to love,  
 potare, mirari signa, pictas tabulas,  
 to drink, to admire signs, (statues), painted tablets (pictures),  
 cœlata vasa; rapere ea privatim et publicè,  
 carved vases; to plunder those (things) privately and publicly,  
 spoliare delubra, polluere omnia sacra que  
 to rob shrines (temples), to pollute all (things) sacred and  
 profana. Igitur hi milites, postquam adepti-sunt  
 profane. Therefore these soldiers, after they obtained  
 victoriam, fecere nihil reliqui  
 a victory, made nothing of remaining (left nothing)  
 victis. Quippe secundæ res fatigant  
 to the vanquished. For [indeed] prosperous things fatigue (try)  
 animos sapientium; ne illi temperarent  
 the minds of the wise; much less could they-moderately-enjoy  
 victoriæ, moribus corruptis. Postquam  
 victory, (their) manners having been corrupted. After  
 divitiæ cœpere esse honori, et gloria,  
 riches began to be for honour (an honour), and glory,  
 imperium, potentia sequebatur eas: virtus cœpit  
 authority, power did follow them: virtue began  
 hebescere, paupertas haberi probro,  
 to languish, poverty to be had (accounted) for a disgrace,  
 innocentia duci pro malevolentia. Igitur ex  
 innocence to be deemed for ill-will. Therefore out-of

divitiis, luxuria, atque avaritia, cum superbiâ,  
riches, luxury, and avarice, with pride,

invasere juventutem. Rapere, consumere,  
invaded the youth. (They began) to plunder, to consume,

pendere sua parvi, cupere aliena;  
to esteem their-own (things) of little (value), to desire others;

habere pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana  
to have modesty, chastity, divine and human

promiscua, nihil pensi, neque  
(things) promiscuous (undistinguished), nothing of regard, nor

moderati.

of moderation. [They disregarded these things, and acted without re-

Est pretium operæ quum  
strait]. It is a reward of labour (it is worth while), when

cognoveris domos atque villas  
thou shalt have known (have viewed) houses and villas

exædificatas in modum urbium, visere templa  
built-up in the manner of cities, to visit the temples

deorum, quæ nostri majores, religiosissimi mortales,  
of the gods, which our ancestors, most-devout mortals,

fecere. Verùm illi decorabant delubra deorum  
made. But they did adorn the temples of the gods

pietate, suas domos gloriâ; neque eripiebant  
with piety, their-own houses with glory; nor did they snatch

quidquam victis præter licentiam  
any (thing) from the vanquished, except the privilege of (doing)

injuriae. At hi, contrà ignavissimi homines,  
injury. But these, on-the-other-hand, most-indolent men,

adimere, per summum scelus, omnia ea  
(began) to take-away, through the utmost wickedness, all those

sociis quæ fortissimi viri victores  
(things) from (their) allies which the bravest men (when) conquerors

reliquerunt hostibus, proinde-quasi facere  
left to (their) enemies, just-as-if to do

injuriam, id esset demum uti imperio.  
an injury, that might be at-length (truly) to use authority.

Nam quid memorem ea, quæ sunt credibilia  
For why may I relate those (things), which are credible

nemini, nisi his, qui videre; montes  
to no-one, unless to those, who have seen (them); [that] mountains

esse subversos, maria constrata à  
[have] to be overturned, seas covered-over (built upon) by

compluribus privatis? Quibus divitiæ videntur  
many private (persons)? To whom riches appear

mihi fuisse ludibrio: quippe properabant abuti  
to me to have been for mockery: for they did hasten to abuse

per turpitudinem, quas licebat habere  
through baseness (the riches), which it was-lawful to have

honestè. Sed non minor lubido stupri, ganæ,  
honourably. But no less a lust of impurity, debauchery,

que cæteri cultûs, incesserat. Viri  
and [of] other-such habit, had invaded (them). Men (began)

pati muliebria: mulieres habere  
to suffer (admit) womanish (practices): women to have

pudicitiam in propatulo: exquirere omnia  
chastity in common: to search-out all (things)

terrâ que mari, causâ vescendi, dormire priusquam  
by land and by sea, for-the-sake of feeding, to sleep before-that

cupido somni esset: non opperiri famem  
inclination of sleep might-be (to them): not to-wait-for hunger

aut sitim, neque frigus neque lassitudinem; sed  
or thirst, neither cold nor lassitude; but

antecapere omnia ea luxu. Hæc incendebant  
to anticipate all those by luxury. These (things) did inflame

juventutem ad facinora, ubi familiares opes  
the youth to crimes, when family (private) resources

defecerant. Animus imbutus malis artibus,  
had failed (them). The mind imbued with bad arts (practices),

haud facilè carebat lubidinibus: eò erat  
not easily did refrain-from lusts: on-this-account it was

profusiùs deditus quæstui atque sumptui  
the more-lavishly addicted to acquisition and expenditure

omnibus modis.  
in all manners.

In tantâ que tam corruptâ civitate, Catilina  
In so-great and so corrupted a state, Catiline

habebat, (id quod erat facillimum factu), catervas  
 did have, (that which was very-easy to-be-done), troops  
 omnium flagitiosorum atque facinorosorum  
 of all wicked and desperate (fellows)  
 circum se, tanquam stipatorum. Nam quicumque  
 around himself, as-if body-guards. For whatsoever  
 impudicus, adulter, ganeo laceraverat  
 unchaste (person), adulterer, debauchee had squandered (his)  
 patria bona manu, ventre, pene; quique  
 paternal goods by hand, belly (luxury), lust; whosoever  
 conflaverat grande alienum æs,  
 had swelled-up (contracted) a great other's brass (debt),  
 quo redimeret flagitium aut  
 by which he might redeem (purchase pardon for) wickedness or  
 facinus; præterea omnes undique parricidæ,  
 crime; besides all [from everywhere the] parricides,  
 sacrilegi convicti judiciis aut timentes  
 sacrilegious (wretches) convicted in trials or fearing  
 iudicium pro factis; ad-hoc quos  
 trial for (their) deeds; to-this (moreover) (those) whom  
 manus atque lingua alebat perjurio et civili  
 (their) hand and tongue did support by perjury and civil  
 sanguine; postremò, omnes quos flagitium, egestas,  
 blood; lastly, all whom villany, want,  
 conscius animus, exagitabat, hi erant proximi que  
 a guilty mind, did harass, these were the nearest and  
 familiares Catilinæ. ~~X~~ Quòd si quis etiam vacuus  
 familiar to Catiline. But if any-one even (yet) free  
 à culpâ, inciderat in amicitiam ejus, efficiebatur  
 from fault, had fallen into the friendship of him, he was made  
 facile par que similis cæteris quotidiano usu atque  
 easily equal and like to the rest by daily habit and  
 illecebris. Sed appetebat maxumè familiaritates  
 allurements. But he sought-after chiefly the intimacies  
 adolescentium: animi eorum molles et fluxi ætate,  
 of young-men: the minds of these soft and frail by age,  
 haud difficulter capiebantur dolis. Nam uti  
 not difficultly were taken (ensnared) by wiles. For as

studium cujusque flagrabat ex ætate,  
 the inclination of each did glow from age, (he began)  
 præbere scorta aliis, mercari canes atque  
 to afford harlots to others (some), to buy hounds and  
 equos aliis: postremò, parcere neque sumptui  
 horses for others: finally, to spare neither expense  
 neque suæ modestiæ, dum faceret  
 nor his-own modesty (character), provided he could make (them)  
 obnoxios que fidos sibi. Scio nonnullos fuisse,  
 subservient and faithful to himself. I know some to have been,  
 qui ita existumarent, juventutem, quæ  
 who thus would think (thought), the youth, which  
 frequentabat domum Catilinæ, habuisse pudicitiam  
 did frequent the house of Catiline, to have-had modesty  
 parùm honestè: sed hæc fama valebat magis  
 little (not) honourably: but this report did prevail more  
 ex aliis rebus, quàm quòd id foret compertum  
 from other things, than that it might be (it was) found-out  
 cuiquam. Jamprimum Catilina, adolescens,  
 (known) to any-one. First-of-all Catiline, a young-man,  
 fecerat multa nefanda stupra cum nobili  
 had done (committed) many abominable impurities with a noble  
 virgine, cum sacerdote Vestæ, et alia  
 virgin, with a priestess of Vesta, and other (things)  
 hujusmodi, contra jus que fas: postremò,  
 of this-kind, against human-law and divine-law: lastly,  
 captus amore Aureliæ Orestillæ, cujus bonus  
 taken with love of Aurelia Orestilla, of whom a good-man  
 unquam laudavit nihil præter formam; quòd  
 ever praised nothing except (her) beauty; because  
 ea, timens privignum adultæ ætate, dubitabat  
 she, fearing a stepson (of) mature age, did hesitate  
 nubere illi, creditur pro certo fecisse vacuam  
 to marry to him, he is believed for certain to have made an empty  
 domum, necato filio, scelestis nuptiis. Quæ  
 house, [his son being killed], for the wicked nuptials. Which  
 res quidem videtur mihi in primis fuisse causa  
 thing indeed seems [to me] chiefly to have been the cause

facinoris maturandi. Namque  
of the enterprise to-be-hastened (of hastening the conspiracy). For

impurus animus, infestus diis que hominibus,  
(his) impure mind, hostile to gods and to men,

poterat sedari neque vigiliis neque quietibus:  
was able to be allayed neither by watchings nor by rests (rest):

conscientia ita vexabat excitam mentem. Igitur  
his conscience so did harass (his) disturbed mind, Therefore

color ei, exsanguis, oculi foedi, incessus  
complexion (was) to him pale, eyes foul, (his) gait

modo citus, modo tardus: vecordia inerat prorsus  
now quick, now slow: madness was-in throughout

in facie que vultu.  
in (his) appearance and countenance. [His features indicated fury

Sed edocebat juventutem mala  
and malignity]. But he did teach the youth wicked

facinora, quam, ut diximus suprâ, illexerat: ex  
crimes, which, as we have said above, he had allured: out-of

illis commodare falsos testes que  
them (he began) to accommodate (to furnish) false witnesses and

signatores; habere fidem,  
signers (forgers); [and to instruct them] to have (hold) faith,

fortunas, pericula vilia. Post, ubi  
fortunes, dangers (as) insignificant. Afterwards, when

attriverat famam atque pudorem eorum,  
he had worn-away (ruined) the character and shame of them,

imperabat alia majora. Si caussa peccandi  
he did enjoin other greater (crimes). If an opportunity of sinning

minùs-suppetebat in præsens, nihilominus  
did-not-offer for the present, nevertheless (he ordered

circumvenire, jugulare insontes sicuti sontes.  
them) to beset, and to murder the innocent as-if guilty.

Scilicet, ne manus aut animus torpesceret per  
Forsooth, lest the hand or mind might become-sluggish through

otium; erat malus atque crudelis potiùs gratuitò.  
disuse; he was bad and cruel rather gratuitously

Catilina confisus his amicis  
(without a purpose). Catiline having relied to (on) these friends



que sociis, simul quòd alienum æs  
and companions, at-the-same-time because others' brass (debt)

erat ingens per omnis (omnes) terras;  
was great through all lands (throughout the

et quòd plerique Sullani milites,  
whole country); and because [the greater part of] the Syllanian soldiers,

usi suo largiùs, memores rapinarum et  
having used their-own too-freely, mindful of rapines and

veteris victoriæ, exoptabant civile bellum;  
and of ancient victory, did eagerly-wish-for civil war;

cepit consilium reipublicæ  
he took design (entered into a design) of the republic

opprimundæ. Nullus exercitus  
to be oppressed (of oppressing the republic). No army (was)

in Italiâ: Cneius Pompeius gerebat bellum in  
in Italy: Cneius Pompey did carry-on war in

extremis terris: magna spes ipsi petundi  
remotest lands: a great hope (was) to him of seeking

consulatum; senatus sanè intentus nihil:  
the consulship; the senate indeed intent (on) nothing:

omnes res tutæ que tranquillæ: sed ea  
all things (were) safe and quiet: but those (things)

prorsus opportuna Catilinæ. Igitur circitèr  
(were) altogether favourable to Catiline. Therefore about

Junias kalendas, Lucio Cæsare et Caio  
the Junian kalends (first of June), Lucius Cæsar and Caius

Figulo consulibus, primò appellare  
Figulus (being) consuls, (he began) first to address

singulos, hortari alios, tentare alios;  
single (persons individually), to exhort some, to try others;

docere suas opes, rempublicam  
to teach (to inform them of) his-own resources, [that] the republic

imparatam, magna præmia conjurationis.  
[was] unprepared, [and] the great rewards of the conspiracy.

Ubi quæ voluit explorata-sunt satis,  
When (the matters) which he willed were considered sufficiently,

convocat omnis (omnes) in unum, quibus  
he convokes all into one (place), to-whom



inerat                      maxuma                      necessitudo                      et  
there-was-in (who had) the greatest                      obligation-of-necessity                      and

plurimum                      audaciæ.  
most                      of boldness. [Who were the most needy and bold].

Eò                      convenere                      Senatorii                      ordinis,                      Publius  
Hither (there) assembled of the Senatorian order,                      Publius

Lentulus Sura,                      Publius Autronius,                      Lucius Cassius  
Lentulus Sura,                      Publius Autronius,                      Lucius Cassius

Longinus, Caius Cethegus, Publius et Servius Sullæ,  
Longinus, Caius Cethegus, Publius and Servius Syllæ,

filli                      Servii,                      Lucius Vargunteius,                      Quintus Annius,  
sons of Servius,                      Lucius Vargunteius,                      Quintus Annius,

Marcus Porcius Læca,                      Lucius Bestia,                      Quintus Curius :  
Marcus Porcius Læca,                      Lucius Bestia,                      Quintus Curius :

præterea                      ex                      equestri                      ordine,                      Marcus Fulvius  
moreover                      of                      the equestrian                      order,                      Marcus Fulvius

Nobilior,                      Lucius Statilius,                      Publius Gabinus Capito,  
Nobilior,                      Lucius Statilius,                      Publius Gabinus Capito,

Caius Cornelius ; ad hoc,                      multi ex coloniis,  
Caius Cornelius ; to this (besides), many out-of the colonies,

et municipiis                      nobiles                      domi.  
and municipal (towns) noble (men of distinction) at-home. (There)

Erant                      præterea                      complures                      paulò                      occultius  
were                      moreover                      many                      somewhat                      more-secretly

participes hujusce consilii, quos spes dominationis  
partakers of this design, whom the hope of sway

hortabatur magis quam inopia aut alia necessitudo.  
did encourage more than want or other obligation.

Cæterùm pleraque juvenus, sed maxumè nobilium,  
But most-of the youth, but chiefly of the nobles,

favebat                      inceptis                      Catilinæ.                      Quibus                      erat  
did favour to the undertakings of Catiline. To whom (there) was

                    copia                      vivere in otio vel magnificè,  
(they who had) the opportunity to live in peace either magnificently,

vel molliter,                      malebant                      incerta.  
or softly (indulgently), they had-rather uncertain (things)

pro certis, bellum quàm pacem.                      Fuere item  
for certain, war than peace. (There) were likewise

eâ tempestate, qui crederent Marcum  
in that time (some), who would believe (did believe) Marcus

Licinium Crassum non fuisse ignarum ejus  
Licinius Crassus not to have been ignorant of that

consilii: quia Cneius Pompeius, invisus sibi,  
design: because Cneius Pompey, odious to him,

ductabat magnum exercitum; voluisse  
did often-lead a great army; to have willed (that he wished)

opes cujusvis crescere contra potentiam illius:  
the resources of any-one to increase against the power of him:

simul confisum, si conjuratio valuisset  
at-the-same-time having trusted, if the conspiracy might have prevailed

se fore facile  
(had prevailed), himself to be about-to-be (that he would be) easily

principem apud illos.  
chief among them.

Sed antea item pauci conjuravere in quibus  
But before also a few conspired in (amongst) whom

Catilina: de quâ dicam quam  
(was) Catiline: of which (conspiracy) I shall speak as

verissume potero. Lucio Tullo, Marco Lepido  
most-truly I-shall-be-able. Lucius Tullus, Marcus Lepidus (being)

consulibus, Publius Autronius, et Publius Sylla,  
consuls, Publius Autronius, and Publius Sylla,

consules designati interrogati legibus  
the consuls intended (elect) having been-questioned (tried) by the laws

ambitûs, dederant pœnas. Paulo-post  
of bribery, had given (suffered) punishments. A little-after

Catilina reus pecuniarum repetundarum  
Catiline guilty (accused) of moneys to be re-demanded (of extor-

erat-prohibitus petere consulatum; quòd  
tion) was prevented to seek the consulate; because

nequiverit profiteri intra  
he had not-been-able to declare (enter his name as candidate) within

legitimos dies. Erat eodem tempore nobilis  
the legitimate days. (There) was at-the-same time a noble

adolescens, Cneius Piso, summæ audaciæ, egens,  
young-man, Cneius Piso, of the utmost boldness, needing,

factiosus, quem inopia atque mali mores  
 factious, whom want and bad morals (principles)

stimulabant ad rempublicam perturbandam.  
 did stimulate to the republic to-be-disturbed (to disturb the

Consilio communicato, cum  
 republic). (Their) design having been imparted (to each other), with

hoc, Catilina et Autronius, circiter nonas  
 this (youth), Catiline and Autronius, about the nones (the fifth)

Decembris, parabant interficere Lucium Cottam et  
 of December, did prepare to kill Lucius Cotta, and

Lucium Torquatum, consules, in capitolio, kalendis  
 Lucius Torquatus, the consuls, in the capitol, on the kalends

Januarii; ipsi, fascibus correptis,  
 (the first) of January; themselves, the fasces having been seized

mittere Pisonem cum exercitu ad  
 (by them), (prepared) to send Piso with an army to

duas Hispanias obtinendas.  
 the two Spains to-be-possessioned (to take possession of the two

Eâ re cognitâ, rursus transtulerunt  
 Spains). That thing having been known, again they transferred

consilium cædis in nonas  
 (deferred) (their) design of murder to the nones (the fifth)

Februarii. Jam, tum machinabantur perniciem  
 of February. Now, at-that-time they did plan destruction

non modò consulibus, sed plerisque senatoribus.  
 not only for the consuls, but most-of the senators.

Quòd, pessimum facinus foret patratum eo die  
 But, the worst act would be committed on that day

post urbem Romam conditam,  
 since the city Rome having been built, [foundation of the city],

ni Catilina maturâsset  
 unless Catiline might have hastened (had not Catiline been too hasty)

dare signum sociis pro curiâ. Quia  
 to give the signal to (his) companions before the senate-house. Because

armati nondum-convenerant frequentes,  
 armed (men) had-not-as-yet assembled numerous (in numbers),

ea res diremit consilium. Postea Piso  
 that thing broke-off (their) design. Afterwards Piso

missus-est quæstor pro Prætore  
was sent (as) treasurer for Pretor (with the authority of Pretor)

in citeriorem Hispaniam, Crasso adnitente;  
to hither Spain, Crassus exerting (using his in-

terest); because quod cognoverat eum infestum Cneio  
he had known him hostile to Cneius

Pompeio: tamen, senatus neque invitus dederat  
Pompey: however, the senate neither reluctant had given

provinciam: quippe  
the province: [the senate willingly gave him the province]: for

volebat foedum hominem abesse procul  
it (they) did will a disgraceful man to be-absent at-a-distance

à republicâ: simul quia complures boni  
from the republic: at-the-same-time because many good (men)

putabant præsidium in eo, et jam-tum potentia  
did suppose a protection (to be) in him, and even-then the power

Cneii Pompeii erat formidolosa. Sed is Piso, faciens  
of Cneius Pompey was formidable. But that Piso, making

iter in provinciam occisus-est ab  
a journey (on his march) into the province was-killed by

Hispanis equitibus, quos ductabat in exercitu.  
Spanish cavalry, whom he did lead-often in (his) army.

Sunt qui ita-dicant  
[That he had in his army]. (There) are (those) who thus may say

barbaros nequivisse  
(who say) [that] the barbarians to have been-unable [were unable]

pati injusta, superba, crudelia imperia.  
to endure the unjust (unreasonable), proud, cruel orders

ejus: autem alii illos equites, veteres que  
of him: but others (say that) those horsemen, old and

fidios clientes Cneii Pompeii, aggressos  
faithful dependants of Cneius Pompey, having attacked (attacked)

Pisonem voluntate ejus: præterea Hispanos  
Piso by the will of him (Pompey): moreover the Spaniards

nunquam fecisse tale facinus, sed antea  
never to have done (did) such a crime, but before-this

perpessos multa sæva imperia. Nos relinquimus  
having endured many harsh commands. We leave

eam rem in medio Dictum  
 that thing in the middle (undetermined). (It has been) said  
 satis de superiori  
 sufficiently (sufficient has been said) concerning the former  
 conjuratione.  
 conspiracy.

Catilina, ubi videt eos, quos memoravi antè,  
 Catiline, when he sees those, whom I have mentioned before,  
 convenisse, tametsi sæpe-egerat multa  
 to have assembled, although he had-often-transacted many (things)  
 cum singulis, tamen credens fore in  
 with each (of them), yet believing to-be-about-to-be to  
 rem appellare et cohortari universos  
 the thing (purpose) to address and encourage all  
 secessit in abditam partem ædium;  
 (collectively), retired into a secret part of the houses  
 atque, omnibus arbitris amotis procul,  
 (house); and, all witnesses removed at-a-distance,  
 habuit ibi orationem hujuscemodi:  
 had (delivered) there a speech of-this-kind:

Ni vestra virtus que fides foret satis  
 Unless your valour and faith might be (were) sufficiently  
 spectata mihi, opportuna res  
 beheld (tried) to (by) me, (this) favourable thing  
 cecidisset nequicquam: magna spes  
 would have happened to-no-purpose: [the] great hope  
 dominationis fuisset frustra in manibus:  
 of ascendancy would have been in-vain in (your) hands:  
 neque captarem incerta pro certis,  
 neither would I grasp-at uncertain (things) instead-of certain,  
 per ignaviam aut vana ingenia. Sed quia  
 through indolence or fickle dispositions. But because  
 cognovi vos fortes que fidos mihi, multis et  
 I have experienced you brave and faithful to me, on many and  
 magnis tempestatibus; eò animus ausus-est  
 great occasions; on-that-account (my) mind has dared  
 incipere maxumum atque pulcherrimum  
 to begin (undertake) the greatest and most-glorious

facinus ; simul quia intellexi eadem  
 enterprise ; at-the-same-time because I perceived the same (things)  
 esse bona que mala vobis, quæ mihi. Nam,  
 to be good and bad to you, which (are so) to me. For,  
 velle idem, atque nolle idem, ea est demum  
 to will the same, and not-to-will the same, this is finally  
 firma amicitia. Sed omnes jam-antea diversi  
 firm friendship. But (you) all already different  
 audistis, quæ ego agitavi  
 (separately) have heard (the things) which I have agitated in (my)  
 mente. Cæterùm animus accenditur magis in dies,  
 mind. But (my) mind is inflamed more on days  
 cùm considero quæ sit futura conditio  
 (daily), when I consider what may be the future condition  
 vitæ, nisi vindicamus nosmetipsos  
 of (our) life, unless we vindicate ourselves (assert our rights)  
 in libertatem. Nam, postquam respublica concessit  
 to liberty. For, after the republic yielded  
 in jus atque ditionem paucorum potentium,  
 into the rule and authority of a few powerful (persons),  
 reges, tetrarchæ esse semper vectigales illis :  
 kings, [and] tetrarchs (began) to be always tributary to them :  
 populi, nationes pendere stipendia :  
 peoples (people), [and] nations to pay taxes [to them] : (we)  
 omnes cæteri strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles  
 all the rest strenuous, good, noble and ignoble  
 fuimus vulgus, sine gratiâ, sine auctoritate,  
 have been a rabble, without favour (interest), without authority,  
 obnoxii his quibus, si respublica valeret,  
 subservient to those to whom, if the republic might prevail  
 essemus formidini. Itaque omnis gratia,  
 (prevailed), we should be for a terror. Therefore all interest,  
 potentia, honos, divitiæ sunt apud illos, aut ubi  
 power, honour, riches are at (with) them, or where  
 volunt : reliquerunt nobis pericula, repulsas, judicia,  
 they will : they have left to us dangers, repulses, trials,  
 egestatem. Quæ quousque-tandem, fortissimi  
 want. Which (things) how-long, bravest



viri, patiemini? Nonne-præstat emori per  
men, will ye endure? Is-it-not-better to die by

virtutem, quàm amittere miseram atque inhonestam  
valour, than to lose a wretched and dishonourable

vitam per dedecus, ubi fueris  
life by disgrace, when thou mayest have been (hast been)

ludibrio alienæ superbiæ? Verùm  
for a laughing-stock to strange (another's) pride? But

enimvero, prò fidem deùm atque hominum, victoria  
truly, O faith of gods and of men, victory

est nobis in manu; ætas viget,  
is to us in hand, [in our possession]; (our) age flourishes, (our)

animus valet: contrà omnia consenuerunt  
mind prevails: on-the-other-hand all (things) have-grown-old

illis annis atque divitiis. Est opus tantummodo  
to them in years and riches. (There) is need only

incepto, res expediet cætera.  
for a beginning, thing (the matter itself) will prepare the rest.

Etenim quis mortaliū, cui est virile  
For who of mortals, to whom (there) is a manly

ingenium, potest tolerare divitias superare illis,  
disposition, can endure riches to abound to them,

quas profundunt in exstruendo  
[them to abound in riches], which they squander in building

mari, et montibus coæquandis,  
(narrowing) the sea, and mountains to-be-levelled (in levelling moun-

familiarem rem deesse nobis etiam  
tains), private thing (property) to-be-wanting to us even

ad necessaria.  
to (for) necessary (matters). [While we want the necessaries of life].

Illos continuare binas domos aut  
(Who can endure) those to extend two (united) houses or

amplius: ullum familiarem larem  
more [in one]: any private household-god (abode)

nusquam nobis?  
no-where to-us? [While we have no where a home of our own].

Cùm emunt tabulas, signa, toreumata diruunt  
When they buy pictures, statues, chased-vessels (plate), pull-down

nova, ædificant alia: postremò, trahunt,  
 new (buildings), build others: finally, draw (consume),  
 vexant pecuniam omnibus modis; tamen  
 torture money [squander money] in all manners; yet  
 nequeunt vincere suas divitias summâ lubidine.  
 are-unable to exceed their riches by the utmost extravagance

At inopia est nobis domi, alienum-æs  
 (of expenditure). But want is to-us at-home, debt  
 foris, res mala, spes multo asperior.  
 abroad, thing (our situation) bad, hope by-much rougher (worse).

Denique, quid reliqui habemus  
 Finally, what of remaining have-we (what have we left)  
 præter miseram animam? Quin igitur  
 except a wretched life? But therefore  
 expergiscimini? En! illa, illa libertas, quam  
 do ye awake? Lo! that, that liberty, which

optâstis sæpe; præterea divitiæ, decus, gloria,  
 you have wished-for often; besides riches, honour, glory,  
 sita-sunt in oculis: fortuna posuit omnia ea  
 are-placed in eyes (view): fortune has placed all those (as)

præmia victoribus. Res, tempus,  
 rewards to the conquerors. The thing (circumstance), time,  
 pericula, egestas, magnifica spolia belli hortentur  
 dangers, want, the magnificent spoils of war may exhort

vos magis quàm mea oratio. Utemini me vel  
 you more than my speech. Ye shall use me either (as)

imperatore vel milite: neque animus neque  
 general or (fellow) soldier: neither (my) mind nor

corpus aberit à vobis. Consul agam, ut  
 body shall be-absent from you. (As) consul I shall-do, as

spero, hæc ipsa unà vobiscum: nisi fortè  
 I hope, those very (things) together with you: unless by chance

animus fallit me, et vos parati-estis  
 (my) mind deceive me, and you have been prepared (disposed)

servire magis quàm imperare.  
 to serve rather than to command.

Postquam homines accepere ea,  
 After the men received (heard) those (things),

quibus omnia mala erant abundè, sed neque res  
to whom all evils were abundantly, but neither thing

neque ulla bona spes: tametsi videbatur.  
(property) nor any good hope: although it did seem

illis magna merces movere quietà; tamen  
to them a great reward to move quiet (things); notwithstanding

plerique postulare uti proponeret, quæ  
many (began) to require that he would propose, what

foret conditio belli: quæ præmia peterent  
would be the condition of war: what rewards they might seek

armis: quid quæ ubi opis aut spei haberent.  
by arms: what and where of resource or of hope they might have.

Tum Catilina polliceri novas tabulas  
Then Catiline (began) to promise new tablets (a remission of

proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus,  
debts, a proscription of the wealthy, magistrates,

sacerdotia, rapinas, omnia alia quæ bellum  
priesthoods, rapines, all other (things) which war

atque libido victorum fert: præterea,  
and [the] lust of conquerors bears (brings): moreover,

Pisonem esse in citeriore Hispaniâ, Publium  
[that] Piso to be (was) in hither Spain, Publius

Sittium Nucerinum cum exercitu in Mauritanîâ,  
Sittius Nucerinus with an army in Mauritania,

participes sui consilii: Caium Antonium  
partakers of his design: [that] Caius Antony

petere consulatum, quem speraret  
to seek [sought] the consulship, whom he would hope (he hoped)

fore collegam sibi, hominem et  
to-be-about-to-be [would be a] colleague to himself, a man and

familiarem et circumventum omnibus  
(both) familiar and beset by all

necessitudinibus:  
obligations: [his familiar acquaintance, and under many obligations to

se consulem facturum  
him]: himself (Catiline) consul about-to-make (would make)

initium agendi cum eo. Ad-hoc increpabat  
a beginning of acting with him. Besides he did revile

maledictis omnes bonos : nominans  
[with imprecations] all good (men): naming

unumquemque suorum, laudare, admonere  
each of his own, (he began) to praise (him), to remind

alium egestatis, alium suæ cupiditatis,  
one of (his) poverty, another of his desire,

complures periculi aut ignominiae, multos Sullanæ  
many of danger or disgrace, many of the Syllanian

victoriæ, quibus ea fuerat prædæ. Postquam  
of victory, to whom that had been for booty. After

videt animos omnium alacris (alacres); cohortatus,  
he sees the minds of all cheerful; having exhorted

ut haberent suam petitionem  
(them), that they would have his petition (canvass)

curæ,

for a concern, [that they would exert themselves in his canvass for the con-

dimisit conventum. Fuere eâ tempestate,  
sulship], he dismissed the assembly. There have been at that time,

qui dicerent Catilinam, oratione  
(those) who might say (said) [that] Catiline, the speech

habîtâ, circumtulisse in pateris  
having been delivered, to have carried-about [carried about] in goblets

sanguinem humani corporis, permixtum vino cum  
the blood of a human body, [mingled with wine] when

adigeret populares sui sceleris ad  
he would force the accomplices of his wickedness to

jusjurandum; inde cùm omnes degustavissent  
an oath; then when all might have tasted (had tasted)

post execrationem, sicuti consuevit fieri in  
after the execration (oath), as has been-wont to be done in

solemnibus sacris, aperuisse suum consilium;  
solemn sacred-rites, to have disclosed [his] design;

atque dictitare fecisse  
and to say-frequently [that they frequently said] to have done

eo, quò forent magis  
(that he did it) for-this-purpose, in-order-that they might be more

fidi inter se, conscii alius alii tanti  
faithful among themselves, (being) conscious one to another of so-great

facinoris. Nonnulli existumabant et hæc,  
a crime. Some did think and (both) these (things),

et multa præterea ficta ab iis, qui credebant  
and many besides feigned by those, who did believe

invidiam Ciceronis, quæ postea  
the envy (hatred) of (against) Cicero, which afterwards

orta-est, leniri atrocitate sceleris eorum,  
arose, to be assuaged by the heinousness of the wickedness of those,

qui dederant poenas. Ea res comperta-est  
who had given (suffered) punishments. That thing has been found-out

nobis parùm pro  
[to us] little (insufficiently) for (in proportion to) (its)

magnitudine.

greatness. [The proof seems not to us sufficient to decide in so weighty

Sed Quintus Curius fuit in eâ  
an accusation]. But Quintus Curius was in that

conjuratone, natus haud obscuro loco,  
conspiracy, born not in obscure place (honourably de-

coopertus flagitiis atque facinoribus; quem  
scended), overwhelmed with villainies and crimes; whom

censores amoverant senatu gratiâ probri.  
the censors had expelled from the senate on-account of disgrace.

Non minor vanitas quàm audacia  
No less vanity [and indiscretion] than boldness

inerat huic homini: neque reticere  
was-in [appertained] to this man: [nor] to keep-secret

quæ ipse audierat, neque  
[could he keep secret] what (things) he had heard, nor

occultare suamet scelera; prorsus  
to conceal [nor could he conceal] his-own crimes; [nor in-short

habebat quicquam pensi neque dicere neque facere.  
had-he any care neither to say nor to do.]

Vetus consuetudo  
[In short he cared not what he said or did]. An old habit

stupri erat ei cum Fulviâ, nobili muliere, cui  
of intrigue was to him with Fulvia, a noble woman, to whom

cùm esset minùs gratus, quòd minùs-poterat  
when he might be (he was) less agreeable, because he-was-less-able

largiri inopiâ, repente glorians, polliceri  
to bestow from poverty, suddenly boasting, (he began) to promise

maria que montes, interdum  
seas and mountains, (to make great promises), sometimes

minari ferro ni foret obnoxia  
to threaten with iron (the sword), unless she would-be compliant

sibi: postremo, agitare ferociùs quàm solitus-erat.  
to him: in-fine, to-act more-rudely than he had been-wont.

At Fulvia, causâ insolentiae Curii cognitâ,  
But Fulvia, the cause of the rudeness of Curius having been known,

habuit non occultum tale periculum reipublicae: sed  
kept not secret such danger to the republic: but

auctore sublato, narravit compluribus quae,  
the author having been suppressed, related to many what,

quo modo, audierat de conjuratione  
(and) in what manner, she had heard of the conspiracy

Catilinæ. Ea res imprimis accendit studia  
of Catiline. That thing chiefly kindled the zeals (zeal)

hominum ad consulatum mandandum Marco Tullio  
of men to the consulship to-be-committed to Marcus Tullius

Ciceroni. Namque antea  
Cicero. [To elect Cicero to the consulship]. For before

pleraque nobilitas æstuabat invidiâ, et credebat  
most-of the nobility did boil with envy, and did believe

consulatum quasi pollui, si novus homo  
the consulship as-if to be defiled, if a new man (a person not

adeptus-foret eum. Sed ubi periculum  
noble) should have obtained it. But when danger

advenit, invidia atque superbia post-fuere.  
approached, envy and pride were postponed (of secondary

IV Igitur comitiis habitis, Marcus  
consideration). Therefore elections having-been-held, Marcus

Tullius et Caius Antonius declarantur consules.  
Tullius and Caius Antony are declared consuls.

Quod factum primò concusserat populares  
Which deed first had shaken the accomplices

conjurationis. Tamen furor Catilinæ neque  
of the conspiracy. However the rage of Catiline neither



minuebatur; sed agitare plura in-dies;  
was diminished; but (he began) to agitate more (things) every-day;

parare arma opportunis locis per Italiam;  
to prepare arms in convenient places through Italy;

portare mutuum pecuniam sumptam suam aut  
to convey borrowed money taken on his-own or

fide amicorum, Fæsulas, ad quemdam Manlium;  
the credit of friends, to Fæsulæ, to a certain Manlius;

qui postea fuit princeps belli faciundi.  
who afterwards was chief of the war to-be-made (of making

war). Dicitur eam tempestate adscivisse plurimos  
He is said at that time to have attached very-many

homines cujuscunque generis sibi; etiam aliquot  
men of every kind to himself; also some

mulieres, quæ primò toleraverant ingentis (ingentes)  
women, who first had supported great

sumptus stupro corporis; post ubi ætas fecerat  
expenses by prostitution of body; afterwards when age had made

modum tantummodo quæstui, neque luxuriæ,  
a bound only to gain, and-not to luxury,

conflaverant grande alienum-æ. Catilina  
they had contracted a great debt. Catiline

credebat se posse per eas sollicitare urbana  
did believe himself to be able through these to stir-up city

servitia incendere urbem, vel adjungere  
slaveries (slaves) to burn the city, or to attach [them]

sibi, vel interficere viros earum. Sed in his  
to him, or to murder the husbands of them. But among these

erat Sempronia, quæ sæpe commiserat multa facinora  
was Sempronia, who often had committed many acts

virilis audaciæ. Hæc mulier fuit satis fortunata  
of manly boldness. This woman was sufficiently happy

genere atque formâ, præterea viro et liberis:  
in lineage and beauty, moreover in a husband and children:

docta Græcis et Latinis literis: psallere,  
learned in Greek and Latin letters (literature): to sing,

saltare elegantius quàm est  
to dance [she could sing and dance] more-gracefully than is

necesse probæ: multa ilia quæ  
 necessary for a chaste (lady): (she knew) many other (things) which  
 sunt instrumenta luxuriæ: sed omnia  
 are instruments of luxury: but all (things) (were)  
 semper cariora ei quàm fuit decus atque pudicitia.  
 always dearer to her than was honour and chastity.

Discerneres haud facilitè an parceret minùs  
 Thou couldst determine not easily whether she would spare less  
 pecuniæ an famæ; sic accensa lubidine ut  
 to money or character; so inflamed with lust that

peteret viros sæpius quàm peteretur.  
 she would seek men oftener than she would be sought (by them).

Sed ea sæpè antehac prodiderat fidem, abjuraverat  
 But she often before-this had betrayed faith, had forsworn  
 creditum, fuerat conscia cædis, abierat  
 credit (trust), had been guilty of murder, had gone

præceps luxuriâ atque inopiâ. Verum  
 headlong [into ruin] by luxury and by want. But

ingenium ejus haud absurdum:  
 the understanding of her (was) not foolish (despicable):

posse facere versus, movere jocum;  
 to be-able [she could] to make verses, to move (excite) jest;

uti vel modesto, vel molli, vel procaci sermone.  
 to use either modest, or delicate, or wanton discourse.

Prorsus, multæ facetiæ que multus lepos inerat  
 Altogether, many pleasantries and much wit was-in

His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilominus  
 (her). Those things having been provided, Catiline nevertheless

petebat consulatum in proximum annum; sperans,  
 did seek the consulship for the next year; hoping,

si foret designatus, se usurum facilitè  
 if he might be elected, [that] himself about-to-use easily

Antonio ex voluntate.  
 (would easily manage) Antony according-to (his) will.

Neque interea erat quietus, sed parabat insidias  
 Neither mean-time was-he quiet, but did prepare snares

Ciceroni omnibus modis. Tamen, dolus aut astutiæ  
 for Cicero in all manners. However, craft or wiles

neque-deerant illi ad-cavendum. Namque à  
 were-not-wanting to him to-beware. For from  
 principio sui consulatûs, effecerat, pollicendo  
 the beginning of his consulship, he had effected, by promising  
 multa per Fulviam, ut Quintus Curius, de  
 many (things) through Fulvia, that Quintus Curius, of  
 quo memoravi paulò antè, proderet consilia  
 whom I have recorded (spoken) a little before, might betray the designs  
 Catilinæ sibi. Ad-hoc perpulerat suum collegam  
 of Catiline to him. Besides he had forced his colleague  
 Antonium pactione provinciæ,  
 Antony by the agreement (promise) of a province,  
 ne-sentiret contra rempublicam:  
 that he would not-feel (entertain ill-will) against the republic:  
 habebat occultè præsidia amicorum atque clientium  
 he did have secretly guards of friends and dependants  
 circum se. Postquam dies comitiorum venit, et  
 about himself. When the day of elections came, and  
 neque petitio Catilinæ, neque insidiæ quas fecerat  
 neither the suit of Catiline, nor the snares which he had made  
 consuli cessère prosperè, constituit facere bellum  
 for the consul resulted favourably, he resolved to make war  
 et experiri omnia extrema, quoniam, quæ  
 and to try all extreme (things), since, what (things)  
 tentaverat occultè, evenerant aspera que foeda.  
 he had tried secretly, had happened rough and disgraceful.  
 Igitur dimisit Caium Manlium Fæsulas,  
 Therefore he dismissed (sent) Caius Manlius (to) Fæsulæ,  
 atque in eam partem Etruriæ, quemdam Septimium,  
 and to that part of Etruria, a certain Septimius,  
 Camertem in Picenum agrum, Caium Julium in  
 a Camertian to the Picene land, Caius Julius to  
 Apuliam, præterea alium alio, quem que ubi  
 Apulia, moreover another to-another-place, whom and where  
 credebatur fore opportunum sibi. Interea  
 he did believe to-be-about-to-be suitable to himself. Mean-time  
 moliri multa Romæ simul:  
 (he began) to contrive many (things) at Rome at-the-same-time:

tendere insidias consuli; parare incendia;  
to lay snares for the consul; to prepare burnings;

obsidere opportuna loca armatis hominibus:  
to block-up convenient places with armed men:

ipse esse cum telo, item jubere alios,  
himself to be with a weapon, also to order others, [he himself was

hortari uti essent  
armed, and ordered others to be so], to exhort that they might be

semper intenti que parati; festinare dies que  
always intent and prepared; to hasten days and

noctes; vigilare;  
nights; [he was actively employed day and night]; to watch;

fatigari neque insomniis (pl.) neque labore.  
to be fatigued neither by-want-of-sleep nor by labour.

Postremo, ubi nihil procedit agitantī multa,  
Finally, when nothing succeeds [with him] projecting many

rursus convocat principes conjurationis  
(things), again he assembles the chiefs of the conspiracy

intempestâ nocte, per Marcum Porcium Læcam,  
in untimely night, through Marcus Porcius Læca,

que ibi questus multa de ignaviâ eorum,  
and there having complained many (much) of the indolence of them,

docet se præmisisse Manlium  
he informs (them) himself to-have-sent-before (despatched) Manlius

ad eam multitudinem, quam paraverat ad arma  
to that multitude, which he had prepared to arms

capiunda; item alios in alia opportuna  
to-be-taken (to take arms); also others to other convenient

loca, qui facerent initium belli; que se  
places, who might make (to make) a beginning of war; and himself

cupere proficisci ad exercitum, si  
to desire [that he desired] to-set-out to the army, if he might

oppressisset Ciceronem priùs: eum  
have (had) destroyed Cicero before: him (Cicero)

officere multùm suis consiliis.

to obstruct much to his designs. [If he could destroy Cicero before

Igitur,  
he departed, as Cicero obstructed him much in his designs]. Therefore,

cæteris perterritis ac dubitantibus, Caius  
 the rest having been affrighted and hesitating, Caius  
 Cornelius, Romanus eques, pollicitus suam operam,  
 Cornelius, a Roman knight, having promised [his] assistance,  
 et cum eo Lucius Vargunteius, senator,  
 and with him Lucius Vargunteius, a senator, [they]  
 constituere eâ nocte paulò post, introire cum  
 appointed on that night a little after, to go-in with  
 armatis hominibus ad Ciceronem, sicuti salutatum,  
 armed men to Cicero, as [if] to salute  
 et confodere de-improviso imparatum,  
 [him], and to stab on-a-sudden (him) unprepared,  
 suæ domi. Curius, ubi intelligit quantum  
 at his-own house. Curius, when he understands how-great  
 periculum impendeat consuli, properè enunciat  
 danger may depend (impends) to the consul, hastily declares  
 Ciceroni per Fulviam, dolum qui parabatur. Ita  
 to Cicero through Fulvia, the plot which was prepared. Thus  
 illi prohibiti januâ, susceperant tantum  
 they having been prohibited from the gate, had-undertaken so-great  
 facinus frustrâ. Interea Manlius sollicitare  
 a crime in-vain. Mean-time Manlius (began) to solicit  
 plebem in Etruriâ, cupidam  
 (excite to insurrection) the commonalty in Etruria, desirous  
 novarum rerum simul egestate, ac  
 of new things (a revolution) at-the-same-time from want, and  
 dolore injuriæ: quòd amiserat  
 resentment of injury: because (the common people) had lost (their)  
 agros que omnia bona dominatione Sullæ;  
 lands and all (their) goods by the usurpation of Sulla;  
 præterea latrones cujuscunque generis, quorum  
 moreover robbers of every kind, of whom  
 magna copia erat in eâ regione, nonnullos  
 a great plenty (number) was in that region, [also] some  
 ex Sullanis colonis, quibus lubido atque luxuria  
 of the Syllanian colonists, to whom lust and luxury  
 fecerant nihil reliqui ex magnis rapinis.  
 made nothing remaining (left nothing) out-of great plunders.

Cùm ea nunciarentur Ciceroni, permotus  
 When those (things) might be (were) told to Cicero, much-disturbed  
 ancipiti malo, quòd neque-poterat longiùs tueri  
 by the double evil, because he was-not-able longer to protect

urbem ab insidiis privato consilio,  
 the city from stratagems by private contrivance, [vigilance],

neque habebat satis compertum quantus exercitus  
 neither had he sufficiently found-out how-great the army

Manlii foret, aut quo consilio;  
 of Manlius might-be (was), or with what design; [what was its de-

refert rem ad senatum, exagitata  
 sign]; he refers the matter to the senate, harassed (canvassed)

jam antea rumoribus vulgi. Itaque senatus  
 even before by the rumours of the mob. Therefore the senate

decrevit quod solet plerumque in atroci negotio,  
 decreed what is-wont generally in [an atrocious] business,

consules darent operam,  
 [in a dangerous emergency], (that) the consuls should give exertion,

ne respublica caperet quid detrimenti. Ea  
 lest the republic should take any of injury. That

maxuma potestas permittitur magistratui  
 very-great power is allowed to a (supreme) magistrate

per senatum, Romano more, parare exercitum,  
 by the senate, by Roman custom, to prepare an army,

gerere bellum, coercere socios atque cives omnibus  
 to carry-on war, to coerce allies and citizens in all

modis: habere summum imperium atque iudicium  
 manners: to have the chief government and judgment

domi que militiæ. Aliter jus earum  
 (civil rule) at-home and abroad. Otherwise privilege of those

rerum est nulli consuli sine jussu populi.  
 things is to no consul without command of the people.

Post paucos dies, Lucius Senius, senator, recitabat  
 After a few days, Lucius Senius, a senator, did read-aloud

in senatu literas quas dicebat  
 in the senate letters (a letter), which he did say (to have been)

allatas sibi Fæsulis, in quibus erat scriptum,  
 brought to him from Fæsulæ, in which was written, [that]



Caium Manlium cepisse arma cum magnâ  
Caius Manlius to have taken [had taken] arms with a great

multitudine ante sextam diem kalendarum  
multitude before the sixth day of the calends

Novembris. Simul id quod solet  
of November (27th October). At-the-same-time that which is-usual

in tali re, alii nunciabant portenta atque  
in such thing (a case), some did announce omens and

prodigia; alii conventus fieri, arma portari,  
prodigies; others assemblies to be made (held), arms to be conveyed,

servile bellum moveri Capuæ atque in Apuliâ.  
a servile war to be excited at Capua and in Apulia.

Igitur decreto senati, missi Quintus Marcius  
Therefore by a decree of the senate, were sent Quintus Marcius

Rex Fæsulas; Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam  
Rex to Fæsulæ; Quintus Metellus Creticus into Apulia

que ea loca circùm. Hi utrique erant imperatores  
and those places around. These both were generals

ad urbem; impediti ne triumpharent calumniâ  
to (near) the city; prevented lest they might triumph by the calumny

paucorum,  
of a few, [both these were generals, without the walls of the city, pre-

vented by the calumnies of a few, from having their triumph], to whom

mos erat vendere omnia, honesta atque  
custom was to sell all (things), honourable and

inhonesta. Sed prætores Quintus Pompeius  
dishonourable. But the pretors (were sent) Quintus Pompeius

Rufus Capuam, Quintus Metellus Celer in Picenum  
Rufus to Capua, Quintus Metellus Celer to the Picene

agrum: que permissum his, uti compararent  
land: and (it was) allowed to these, that they might levy

exercitum pro tempore atque periculo. Ad-hoc  
an army according-to time and danger. Besides

si quis indicâset de  
(they decreed) if any-one should have informed (had informed) of

conjurazione quæ facta-erat contra rempublicam,  
the conspiracy which was made against the republic,

præmium, libertatem servo, et H. S. C.  
 a reward, (viz.) freedom to a slave, and a hundred-thousand  
 (centum sestertia); libero impunitatem ejus rei  
 sesterces; to a free-man impunity of that thing  
 et H. S. C. C. (ducenta sestertia); que item  
 and two-hundred-thousand sesterces; and also  
 decrevere, uti gladiatoriae familiae distribuerentur  
 they decreed, that the gladiator families should be distributed  
 Capuam, et in cætera municipia, pro  
 to Capua, and into other municipal-towns, according-to  
 opibus cujusque; vigiliæ haberentur  
 the resources (strength) of each; watches should be kept  
 per totam urbem Romæ, que minores  
 throughout the whole city of Rome, and the inferior  
 magistratus præessent eis. Quibus rebus civitas  
 magistrates should preside-over them. By which things the state  
 erat permota atque facies urbis immutata:  
 was disturbed and the appearance of the city changed:  
 tristitia repentè invasit omnis (omnes) ex summâ  
 sadness suddenly invaded all after the utmost  
 lætitiâ atque lascivia, quæ diuturna quies  
 rejoicing and sportiveness, which a long peace  
 pepererat. Festinare, trepidare, neque  
 had produced. (They began) to hasten, to tremble, neither  
 satis credere cuicumque loco neque homini: neque  
 sufficiently to trust to any place nor man: neither  
 gerere bellum, neque habere pacem: quisque  
 to carry-on war, nor to have peace: every-one  
 metiri pericula suo metu. Ad-hoc mulieres,  
 to measure dangers by his-own fear. Besides the women,  
 quibus pro magnitudine reipublicæ insolitus timor  
 to whom [for the greatness of the republic] an unusual fear  
 belli incesserat, afflictare sese; tendere  
 of war had attacked, (began) to afflict themselves; to stretch  
 supplices manus ad cœlum; misereri parvos  
 suppliant hands to heaven; to compassionate (their) little  
 liberos; rogitare; pavere omnia, superbiâ  
 children; to ask-frequently; to dread all (things), pride

atque deliciis omissis, diffidere sibi que  
and refinements being left-aside, to distrust for themselves and  
patriæ.

country. [They distrusted every thing]. At crudelis animus  
But the cruel mind

Catilinæ movebat illa eadem, tametsi præsidia  
of Catiline did project those same (things), although guards

parabantur, et ipse interrogatus-erat ab Lucio  
were prepared, and himself had been impeached by Lucius

Paulus Plautiâ lege: postremò, venit in senatum,  
Paulus (on) the Plautian law: lastly, he came into the senate,

causâ dissimulandi, et quasi sui  
by cause (for the sake) of dissembling, and as-it-were of-himself

expurgandi; sicuti lacesitus-foret  
to be-cleared (clearing himself); as-though he might be provoked (was pro-

urgio. Tum Marcus Tullius consul, sive timens  
voked) by defamation. Then Marcus Tullius the consul, either fearing

præsentiam ejus sive commotus irâ, habuit  
the presence of him or being excited by anger, had (delivered)

orationem luculentam atque utilem reipublicæ, quam  
a speech brilliant and useful to the republic, which

postea edidit scriptam. Sed ubi ille assedit,  
afterwards he published written. But when he sat-down,

Catilina, ut paratus-erat ad omnia dissimulanda  
Catiline, as he had been prepared for all (things) to-be-dissembled

demisso vultu que  
(to dissemble all things) (began) with down-cast countenance and

supplici voce postulare à Patribus  
suppliant voice to request from the Fathers (senate) (that)

ne-crederent temerè quid de se;  
they might not believe rashly any (thing) concerning him;

ortum eâ familiâ, ita instituisse  
(being) sprung from that (such) family, so to have regulated (his)

vitam ab adolescentiâ, ut haberet omnia bona  
life from adolescence, that he might have all good

in spe: ne-existumarent opus esse sibi,  
(things) in hope: they should not-think need to be to him,

patricio homini, beneficia cujus ipsius atque  
a patrician man, the favours of whom self and (his)

majorum essent plurima in Romanam  
 ancestors might be (were) very-many toward the Roman  
 plebem, republicâ perditâ;  
 commons, (of) the republic destroyed (of destroying the republic);  
 cùm Marcus Tullius, inquilinus civis Romæ,  
 when Marcus Tullius, an alien (adventitious) citizen of Rome,  
 servaret eam. Ad-huc, cùm adderet alia  
 would preserve it. Moreover, when he would add other  
 maledicta; omnes obstrepere, vocare hostem  
 revilings; all (began) to interrupt, to call (him) an enemy  
 atque parricidam. Tum ille furibundus, inquit,  
 and parricide. Then he raging, says,  
 "Quoniam quidem circumventus agor præceps  
 "Since indeed beset I am driven headlong  
 ab inimicis, extinguiam meum incendium  
 by (my) enemies, I will extinguish my burning [destruction]  
 ruinâ." Dein proripuit se domum ex  
 by (universal) ruin." Then he hurried himself home out-of  
 curiâ: ipse volvens multa secum ibi,  
 the senate-house: he revolving many (things) with himself there,  
 quòd neque insidiæ consuli procedebant,  
 because neither the stratagems for [against] the consul did succeed,  
 et intelligebat urbem munitam ab incendio  
 and he did understand the city (to be) secured from fire  
 vigiliis, credens optimum factu augere  
 by watches, believing (it) best to be done to increase (his)  
 exercitum, ac ante-capere multa quæ forent  
 army, and to anticipate many (things) which might be  
 usui bello prius-quàm legiones scriberentur,  
 to advantage for war before-that the legions should be levied,  
 profectus-est intempestâ nocte cum paucis in  
 he set-out in untimely (very-late) night with a few into  
 Manliana castra. Sed mandat Cethego, atque  
 the Manlian camp. But he commands to Cethegus, and  
 Lentulo que cæteris, promptam audaciam quorum  
 Lentulus and others, the ready boldness of whom  
 cognoverat, confirmat opes  
 he had known, (that) they may strengthen (to strengthen) the resources

factionis quibus rebus possent, maturent  
of the faction by what things they might be-able, may hasten

insidias consuli, parent cædem,  
(to hasten) snares for the consul, may prepare (to prepare) slaughter,

incendia, que alia facinora belli: sese  
burnings, and other cruel-deeds of war: himself (to be)

accessurum propediem cum magno exercitu  
about-to-approach shortly with a great army

ad urbem. Dum hæc geruntur Romæ,  
to the city. Whilst these (things) are carried-on at Rome,

Caius Manlius mittit legatos ex suo numero  
Caius Manlius sends ambassadors out-of his-own number

ad Quintum Martium Regem cum mandatis hujusce-  
to Quintus Martius Rex with commands of this-

modi.  
kind.

Testamur deos que homines, imperator, nos  
We attest gods and men, [O commander,] us

cepisse arma neque contra  
to have taken (that we have taken) arms neither against [our]

patriam, neque quò faceremus periculum aliis,  
country, nor in-order-that we might make danger to others,

sed uti nostra corpora forent tuta ab injuriâ:  
but that our bodies might be safe from injury:

qui miseri, egentes, plerique sumus expertes,  
who wretched, needing, most (of us) are deprived,

violentiâ atque crudelitate fœneratorum, patriæ,  
by the violence and cruelty of usurers, (of) country,

sed omnes famâ atque fortunâ: neque  
but all [from] of character and fortune: and

licuit cuiquam nostrûm, more majorum  
has it been-lawful for any of us, in the manner of (our) ancestors

uti lege, neque habere liberum corpus,  
to use the law, nor to have a free body (person), (our)

patrimonio amisso: tanta fuit sævitia fœne-  
patrimony having been lost: so-great has been the cruelty of the usu-

ratorum atque prætoris. Sæpe majores  
rers and pretor (chancellor). Often the ancestors



vestrûm miseriti Romanæ plebis, opitulati-sunt  
 of you having pitied the Roman commonalty, relieved  
 inopiæ ejus suis decretis: ac propter magnitudinem  
 the want of it by their decrees: and on-account-of the magnitude  
 alieni-æris argentum solutum-est ære novissumè,  
 of debt silver was-paid by brass very-lately,  
 vestrâ memoriâ, omnibus bonis volentibus.  
 in your memory, all good (persons) willing (assenting).  
 Sæpe plebes ipsa, permota aut studio  
 Often the commons themselves, influenced either by a zeal  
 dominandi aut superbiâ magistratum, secessit  
 of ruling or by the pride of the magistrates, seceded  
 armata à patribus. At nos petimus non imperium  
 armed from the fathers. But we seek not command  
 neque divitias, causâ quarum omnia bella atque  
 nor riches, on-account of which all wars and  
 certamina sunt inter mortalis (mortales): sed  
 contests are among mortals: but  
 libertatem, quam nemo bonus amittit, nisi  
 liberty, which no good (man) loses, unless  
 simul cum animâ. Obtestamur te atque senatum,  
 together with life. We conjure thee and the senate,  
 consulatis miseris civibus;  
 (that) you may consult (that you provide) for wretched citizens;  
 restitutis præsidium legis, quod iniquitas  
 may restore (restore) the security of the law, which the iniquity  
 prætoris eripuit, neve-imponatis nobis  
 of the pretor has taken-away, and (that) you impose-not on us  
 necessitudinem, ut quæramus quonam modo  
 the necessity, that we may seek (to seek) in what manner  
 pereamus, ulti maxumè nostrum sanguinem.  
 we may perish, having avenged-chiefly best) our blood

[after having sold our lives dearly].

Quintus Martius respondit ad hæc, Si  
 Quintus Martius answered to these (things), If

vellent petere quid ab senatu,  
 they would [wished] to seek any (thing) from the senate,



discedant ab armis, proficiscantur supplices Romam :  
they may depart from arms, may-set-out suppliant to Rome

[they should lay down their arms, and go as suppliants to Rome]:

senatum que Romanum populum  
(he answers) [that] the senate and Roman people

fuisse semper eâ misericordiâ  
to have been always with (of) [always possessed] that pity

atque mansuetudine, ut nemo unquam petiverit  
and gentleness, that no-one ever may have sought

auxilium ab eo frustrâ. At Catilina ex  
(has sought) aid from it in vain. But Catiline on

itinere mittit literas plerisque consularibus,  
(his) journey sends letters to most consular-men,

præterea cuique optumo :  
moreover to each most excellent [and distinguished] (person):

se circumventum falsis criminibus, quoniam  
himself being beset by false accusations, since

nequiverit resistere factioni  
he may have been-unable (was unable) to withstand to the faction

inimicorum, proficisci Massiliam in exilium ;  
of (his) enemies, to set-out to Massilia into banishment ;

non quòd esset conscius sibi tanti sceleris,  
not because he might be conscious to himself of so-great a crime,

sed uti respublica foret quieta ; ve ne seditio  
but that the republic might be peaceable ; or lest a sedition

oriretur ex suâ contentione. Quintus Catulus  
might arise out-of his dispute. Quintus Catulus

recitavit in senatu literas longè diversas ab  
read-aloud in the senate letters (a letter) far different from

his ; quas dicebat redditas sibi nomine  
these (this) ; which he did say (to be) delivered to him in the name

Catilinæ. Exemplum earum scriptum-est infrâ.  
of Catiline. The copy of those (it) has been written beneath.

Lucius Catilina Quinto Catulo salutans. Tua egregia  
Lucius Catiline to Quintus Catulus greeting. Thy excellent

fides, grata mihi, re cognitâ,  
faith (honour), [so] agreeable to me, the thing having been known

tribuit fiduciam meæ  
[and known to me by experience], has afforded a confidence to my

commendationi meis magnis periculis. Quamobrem  
recommendation in my great dangers. Wherefore

statui non parare defensionem in novo  
I have resolved not to prepare a defence in (my) new

consilio: decrevi proponere satisfactionem ex  
design: I have determined to propose satisfaction from

nullâ conscientiâ de culpâ, quæ medius-fidius  
no consciousness of fault, which by Jove's-son (Hercules)

licet recognoscas mecum vera. Concitatus  
it-is-lawful you may recognise with me (to be) true. Provoked

injuriis que contumeliis, quòd privatus  
by injuries and insults, that having been deprived [that have

fructu laboris que meæ industriæ,  
deprived me] (of) the fruit of [my] labour and my industry,

obtinebam non statum dignitatis,  
I did possess not the station of dignity [and which prevented me

suscepi, pro  
from obtaining the dignity of consul], I have undertaken, according-to

meâ consuetudine, publicam causam miserorum:  
my custom, the public cause of the wretched:

non quin possem solvere alienum-æs meis  
not but I might be-able to discharge the debt in-my-own

nominibus ex possessionibus;  
names (on my own account) out-of (my) possessions;

cùm et liberalitas Aureliæ Orestillæ persolveret  
when and (also) the liberality of Aurelia Orestilla would discharge

aliis nominibus,  
(debt) under other names (the securities for his debts) [his surety-

suis que copiis  
ship for the debts of others], from her-own and the resources of (her)

filiae: sed quòd videbam non-dignos homines  
daughter: but because I did see unworthy men

honestatos honore, que sentiebam me  
dignified by honour (preferment), and did feel myself

alienatum falsâ suspicione. Hoc nomine  
estranged by a false suspicion. With this name (consideration)

secutus-sum satis honestas spes reliquæ dignitatis  
I have-followed sufficiently honourable hopes of remaining dignity  
conservandæ pro

to-be-preserved (of preserving my remaining dignity) according-to

meo casu. Cûm vellem scribere plura, nunciatum-est  
my condition. When I would to write more, it has been told

vim parari mihi. Nunc  
violence to be prepared (that violence was designed) for me. Now

commendo Orestillam tibi, que trado tuæ fidei.  
I commend Orestilla to thee, and I deliver (her) to thy honour.

Rogatus per tuos liberos defendas eam  
Entreated by thy children (that) thou mayest defend her

ab injuriâ. Haveto.  
from injury. Farewell.

Sed ipse, commoratus paucos dies apud Caium  
But he, having delayed a few days with Caius

Flaminium in Reatino agro, dum exornat armis  
Flaminius in the Reatine land, whilst he furnishes with arms

vicinitatem antea sollicitatam, contendit cum  
the neighbourhood before stirred-up, hastens with

fascibus atque aliis insignibus imperii in castra  
the fasces and other ensigns of authority to the camps

ad Manlium. Ubi hæc comperta-sunt Romæ,  
to Manlius. When these (things) were found-out at Rome,

senatus judicat Catilinam et Manlium hostes; statuit  
the senate judges Catiline and Manlius enemies; appoints

diem cæteræ multitudini, ante quam liceret  
a day for the other multitude, before which it might be-lawful

discedere ab armis, sine fraude, præter  
to depart from arms, [without fraud] [with impunity], except

condemnatis capitalium rerum. Præ-  
for (those) condemned of capital things (crimes). More-

terea decernit, uti consules habeant  
over it (the senate) decrees, that the consuls may have (should hold)

delectum; Antonius maturet persequi  
a levy; [that] Antony may (should) hasten to pursue

Catilinum cum exercitu; Cicero sit præsidio  
Catiline [with] an army; [that] Cicero be for a protection

urbi. Imperium Romani  
 to the city [should protect the city]. The government of the Roman  
 populi visum-est mihi multò maxumè miserabile  
 people has appeared to me by much the most pitiable  
 eâ tempestate: cui cùm omnia ab ortu  
 at that time: to which when all (things) from [the] rising  
 ad occasum solis, domita armis, parerent;  
 to the setting of the sun, subdued by arms, might obey (obeyed);  
 otium atque divitiæ, quæ mortales putant prima,  
 leisure and riches, which mortals think the chief  
 adfluerent domi; fuere, tamen,  
 (blessings), might abound (abounded) at home; there were, however,  
 cives, qui irent obstinatis animis perditum  
 citizens, who would go (went) with obstinate minds to destroy  
 que se que rempublicam. Namque neque  
 both themselves and the republic. For neither  
 quisquam omnium ex tantâ multitudine, duobus  
 any one of-all out-of so-great a multitude, two  
 decretis senati, inductus præmio, patefacerat  
 decrees of the senate (existing), induced by reward, had discovered  
 conjurationem discesserat ex castris (*pl.*)  
 the conspiracy, [or] had departed out-of the camp  
 Catilinæ. Tanta vis morbi, atque uti tabes,  
 of Catiline. So-great a violence of disease, and as an infection,  
 invaserat plerosque animos civium. Neque mens  
 had seized most the minds of the citizens. Neither the mind  
 erat aliena solùm illis, qui fuerunt conscii  
 was disaffected only to those, who were , conscious (privy to)  
 conjurationis, sed cuncta plebes omnino probabat  
 of the conspiracy, but all the common-people altogether did approve  
 incepta Catilinæ, studio novarum rerum.  
 the undertakings of Catiline, from a zeal of new things  
 Adeo videbatur facere  
 (a revolution). Thus it (the common-people) seemed to do  
 id suo more. Nam semper in civitate,  
 that from their custom. For always in a state, (they)  
 quibus nullæ opes sunt, invident bonis, extollunt  
 to whom no resources are, envy the good, extol

malos, odêre vetera, exoptant nova;  
the bad, have hated (hate) old (things), wish-for new;

student omnia mutari odio suarum  
desire all (things) to be changed from a hatred of their-own

rerum, aluntur sine curâ turba, atque  
things, are maintained without care in crowd (confusion), and

seditionibus: quoniam egestas retinetur facilè sine  
seditions: since want is retained easily without

damno. Sed verò ea urbana  
loss [poverty can lose nothing]. But indeed that city

plebes ierat præceps de multis causis. Primùm  
commonalty had gone headlong for many causes. First

omnium qui ubique maxumè præstabant probro  
of all (they) who [everywhere] chiefly did excel in infamy

atque petulantiâ; item alii, patrimoniis amissis  
and impudence; likewise others, (their) patrimonies having been lost

per dedecora; postremò, omnes quos flagitium aut  
through digresses; lastly, all whom wickedness or

facinus expulerat domo; hi confluxerunt  
crime had driven-out from home; these flowed-together

Romam, sicuti in sentinam. Dein multi memores  
to Rome, as to a sewer. Then many mindful

Sullanæ victoriæ, quòd videbant alios ex  
of the Syllanian victory, because they did see others (some) of

gregariis militibus senatores; alios ita divites ut  
the common soldiers senators; others so rich that

agerent ætatem regio victu atque  
they might spend age (their life) with royal food and

cultu; quisque sperabat talia sibi ex  
dress; every-one did hope such (things) for himself from

victoriâ, si foret in armis. Præterea juvenus,  
victory, if he might be in arms. Besides the youth,

quæ toleraverat inopiam in agris mercede  
who has supported poverty in the fields by the reward

manuum, excita privatis atque publicis  
of hands (manual labour), excited by private and public

largitionibus, prætulerat urbanum otium ingrato  
bribes, had preferred city ease to disagreeable



labori. Publicum malum alebat eos atque omnis  
labour. The public calamity did maintain these and all

(omnes) alios. Quò est minùs mirandum,  
others (such). Wherefore it is less to-be-wondered-at,

egentis (egentes) homines, malis moribus,  
[that] needy men, with bad principles,

maxumâ spe consuluisse juxtâ reipublicæ ac  
with the greatest hope to have consulted equally for the republic and  
sibi.

themselves. [Had consulted their private interest as much as that of the

Præterea parentes quorum  
republic]. Moreover (those) the parents of whom (were)

proscripti victoriâ Sullæ, bona erepta,  
proscribed in the victory of Sylla, (their) goods snatched-away, [and

jus libertatis erat imminutum, exspectabant  
the] privilege of liberty was impaired, did await

eventum belli haud sanè alio animo.  
the issue of the war not indeed with other mind. [With like feelings].

Ad-hoc, quicumque erant aliarum partium atque  
Besides, whosoever were of other factions than (that)

senatûs, malebant rempublicam conturbari quàm  
of the senate, had-rather the republic to be disturbed than

ipsi valere minùs: adeò id  
they to prevail less: [should have less influence]: so that

malum reverterat in civitatem post multos annos.  
evil had returned to the state after many years.

Nam postquam tribunitia potestas restituta-est,  
For after the tribunician power was restored,

Cneio Pompeio et Marco Crasso consulibus,  
Cneius Pompey and Marcus Crassus (being) consuls,

adolescentes homines nacti summam potestatem,  
young men having obtained the highest power,

quibus ætas que animus erat ferox,  
[the tribunician], to whom age and mind was fierce

cœpere exagitare plebem criminando  
(ardent), began to harass [agitate] the commons by accusing

senatum; dein incendere magis largiundo,  
the senate; then to inflame (them) more by bribing,



atque pollicitando ; ita ipsi  
and by promising-often ; [by bribes and promises] ; thus they (began)

feri clari que potentes. Pleraque nobilitas  
to be made conspicuous and powerful. Most the nobility

nitebatur contra eos summâ ope :  
endeavoured against them with utmost might : [the greater part of the

nobility strove against them with all their might] : sub specie  
under pretence

senatûs, pro suâ magnitudine. Namque  
of (for) the senate, (but) for their own greatness. For

utî absolvam verum paucis, quicumque  
that I may despatch true (the truth) in a few (words), whosoever

agitavere rempublicam per illa tempora,  
harassed the republic during those times, (under)

honestis nominibus, alii sicuti defenderent  
honourable names (pretences), some as-though they would defend

jura populi ; pars quò auctoritas senatûs  
the rights of the people ; part in-order-that the authority of the senate

foret maxuma, simulantes publicum bonum,  
might be the greatest, pretending the public good, [but]

certabant quisque pro suâ potentiâ : neque  
did contend each for his-own power : neither

modestia, neque modus contentionis erat illis :  
moderation, nor (limit) of dispute was to them :

utrique  
[their contests with one another were carried on most violently] : both

exercebant victoriam crudeliter. Sed postquam  
did exercise victory cruelly. But after

Cneius Pompeius missus-est ad maritimum atque  
Cneius Pompeius was-sent to the maritime and

Mithridaticum bellum, opes plebis  
Mithridatic war, the resources of the commons (were)

imminutæ, potentia paucorum crevit. Hi  
impaired, the power of a few increased. These (began)

tenere magistratus, provincias, que omnia alia :  
to possess magistracies, provinces, and all other (things) :

ipsi innoxii, florentes, agere ætatem sine  
they free-from-injury, flourishing, to-spend age without

metu, que terrere cæteros judiciis,  
fear, and to affright others by judgments, [they free from

quò  
danger, alarmed others by judicial investigations], in-order-that (when)  
in magistratu tractarent plebem placidiùs.  
in the magistracy they might manage the commons more-gently.

Sed ubi spes  
[And not excite commotions among them]. But when hope

oblata-est dubiis rebus novandis, vetus  
was offered for [adverse] things to-be-renewed (changed), the old  
certamen arrexist animos eorum. Quòd  
contest raised the minds of them. [Raised their courage]. But

si Catilina discessisset superior  
if Catiline might have departed (had departed) (come off) superior

primo prælio, aut æquâ manu, profectò magna  
in the first battle, or with an equal force, indeed a great

clades atque calamitas oppressisset rempublicam,  
slaughter and calamity might have oppressed the republic,

neque licuisset illis qui  
neither might it have been-lawful [permitted] for those who

adepti-forent victoriam uti eâ  
might have obtained (had obtained) victory to use it

diutius; quin qui posset-plus extorqueret  
[longer]; but (the party) who might be more powerful would wrest

imperium atque libertatem defessis et exsanguibus.  
authority and liberty from the wearied and exhausted.

Tamen complures fuere extra conjurationem, qui  
However many were without the conspiracy, who

profecti-sunt initio ad Catilinam. In his  
set-out in the beginning to Catiline. Among these

erat Fulvius, filius senatoris, quem parens jussit  
was Fulvius, the son of a senator, whom (his) father ordered

retractum ex itinere, necari. Iisdem  
brought-back from (his) journey, to be-put-to-death. At the same

temporibus Lentulus sollicitabat Romæ quoscumque  
times (time) Lentulus did stir-up at Rome whomsoever

credebat idoneos, moribus aut fortunâ, novis  
he did believe fit, by morals or fortune, for new

rebus, sicuti Catilina præceperat; neque  
 things (a revolution), as Catiline had ordered; neither  
 solùm cives, sed genus hominum cujuscumque  
 only citizens, but a kind of men of any (whatever)  
 modi, quod modò foret usui bello. Igitur  
 description, which only might be for advantage to the war. Therefore  
 dat negotium cuidam Publio Umbreno,  
 he gives business a (commission) to a certain Publius Umbrenus,  
 uti requiratur legatos Allobrogum: que impellat  
 that he may find-out the deputies of the Allobroges: and impel  
 eos, si possit, ad societatem belli, existumans  
 them, if he may be able, to an alliance of the war, thinking,  
 eos oppressos publicè que privatim alieno-ære:  
 those oppressed publicly and privately by debt:  
 præterea quòd Gallica gens esset bellicosa  
 moreover that the Gallic nation might be (was) warlike  
 naturâ, posse facilè adduci ad tale  
 by nature, to be able (might) easily be brought-over to such  
 consilium. Umbrenus notus-erat plerisque principibus  
 a design. Umbrenus had been known to most the chiefs  
 civitatum, atque noverat eos, quòd negotiatus-erat  
 of the states, and had known them, because he had trafficked  
 in Galliâ: itaque sine morâ, ubi-primum conspexit  
 in Gaul: therefore without delay, as-soon-as he beheld  
 legatos in foro, percunctatus pauca  
 the deputies in the market-place, [forum], having inquired a few  
 de statu civitatis, et quasi dolens  
 (things) concerning the condition of the state, and as-if bemoaning  
 casum ejus, coepit requirere quem exitum sperarent  
 the lot of it, began to ask what issue they might hope  
 tantis malis. Postquam videt illos queri  
 to so-great evils. After he sees [that] them to complain  
 de avaritiâ magistratum, accusare  
 [they complain] of the avarice of the magistrates, to accuse  
 senatum, quòd esset nihil auxilii in  
 the senate, because there might be (was) nothing of redress in  
 eo; exspectare mortem remedium suis  
 it; [and] to await death (as) a remedy for their

miseriis: "At ego," inquit, "ostendam rationem  
 miseries: "But I," he says, "will-point-out a plan

vobis, si modo-vultis esse viri,  
 to you, if you-only-wish to be men, [if you would only be men],  
 quâ effugiatis ista tanta mala." Ubi dixit  
 by which you may escape those so-great evils." When he said  
 hæc, Allobroges adducti in maxumam spem,  
 these (things), the Allobroges led into the greatest hope,

orare Umbrenum uti misereretur sui:  
 (began) to entreat [Umbrenus] that he might pity themselves: [that]  
 nihil esse tam asperum, neque tam difficile,  
 nothing to be [was] so rough, nor so difficult,  
 quod facturi-essent non cupidissimè,  
 which they would-be-about-to-do not most-desirously, [but that they

dum ea res liberaret civitatem  
 would most willingly do], provided that thing might free the state  
 alieno-ære. Ille perducit eos in domum Decii  
 from debt. He leads them into the house of Decius

Bruti, quod erat propinqua foro, neque aliena  
 Brutus, because it was near to the forum, and not unacquainted  
 consilii propter Semproniam, nam Brutus  
 of the design (conspiracy) on-account-of Sempronia, for Brutus

aberat tum ab Româ. Præterea arcessit  
 was absent then from Rome. Besides he sends-for

Gabinium, quod major auctoritas inesset  
 Gabinius, in-order-that greater authority might be-in to (his)

sermoni; eo præsentem, aperit conjunctionem,  
 discourse; he being present, he discloses the conspiracy,

nominat socios, præterea multos innoxios  
 names the associates, moreover many innocent (men)

cujusque generis, quod animus esset  
 of every kind, in-order-that mind (courage) might be

amplior legatis: dein dimittit eos domum,  
 greater to the deputies: then he dismisses them home,

pollicitos suam operam. Sed Allobroges habuere  
 having promised their assistance. But the Allobroges had

diu in incertum, quidnam consilii  
 for-a-long-time into uncertain (were in doubt), what of counsel

caperent. In altera parte erat alienum-æs,  
 they might take. In the other (one) part was debt,  
 studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriæ; at  
 zeal of war, great reward in the hope of victory; but  
 majores opes, tuta consilia, certa præmia pro  
 greater resources, safe counsels, certain rewards instead-of  
 incertâ spe in alterâ. Illis volventibus hæc,  
 uncertain hope on the other (side). They revolving these

tandem fortuna reipublicæ vicit. Itaque  
 (things) at-length the fortune of the state prevailed. Therefore

aperiunt omnem rem, uti cognoverant, Quinto  
 they disclose all the thing, as they had known (it), to Quintus

Fabio Sangæ, patrocínio cujus civitas utebatur  
 Fabius Sanga, the patronage of whom the state did use

plurimum. Cicero, consilio cognito per  
 very-much. Cicero, the design having been known through

Sangam, præcipit legatis, ut simulent  
 Sanga, orders to (the) deputies, that they may pretend (to pre-

vehementer studium conjurationis;  
 tend) vehemently a zeal of (for) the conspiracy; may (to)

adeant cæteros; polliceantur benè,  
 go-to the rest [of the conspirators]; may (to) promise well,

que dent operam, ut habeant eos  
 and may (to) give exertion, [assurance], that they may have them

quàm maxumè manifestos.

as most manifest (convicted). [As avowed participants

Motus erat ferè iisdem  
 in the conspiracy]. A commotion was almost in the same

temporibus, in citeriore atque ulteriøre Galliâ,  
 times (time), in hither and farther Gaul,

item in Piceno agro, Bruttio, Apuliâ. Namque  
 also in the Picene land, in Bruttium, Apulia. For

illi quos Catilina dimiserat . antea agere  
 they whom Catiline had sent-off [before] (began) to do

cuncta simul inconsultè, ac veluti  
 all (things) at-the-same-time inconsiderately, and as-if

per dementiam: effecerant plus timoris  
 through madness: they had effected more of fear



quàm periculi nocturnis conciliis, portationibus  
than of danger by nightly councils, by conveyances

armorum atque telorum, festinando, agitando  
of arms and of weapons, by hastening, by agitating

omnia. Quintus Metellus Celer, caussâ cognitâ,  
all (things). Quintus Metellus Celer, the cause being known,

conjecerat complures ex eo numero in vincula,  
had cast many of that number [into prison],

ex consulto senatûs. Caius Murena item,  
according-to a decree of the senate. Caius Murena (did) likewise,

in citeriore Galliâ, qui legatus præerat ei  
in hither Gaul, who (as) lieutenant was-over to that

provincia. At Lentulus cum cæteris,  
[presided over that] province. But Lentulus with the others,

qui erant principes conjurationis, magnis copiis  
who were chiefs of the conspiracy, great forces

paratis Romæ, uti videbatur, constituerat,  
having been prepared at Rome, as it did appear, had appointed,

uti cùm Catilina venisset cum exercitu  
that when Catiline might have come (had come) with an army

in Fæsulanum agrum, Lucius Bestia, tribunus  
into the Fæsulan land, Lucius Bestia, tribune

plebis, concione habitâ, quereretur de  
of the commons, an assembly being held, should complain of

actionibus Ciceronis, que imponeret invidiam  
the proceedings of Cicero, and place the odium

gravissimi belli optumo consuli;  
of (this) most-serious war to (on) the most-excellent consul;

eo signo, proxumâ nocte, cætera multitudo  
by that sign (signal), [the next night], the remaining multitude

conjurationis exsequeretur quisque suum negotium.  
[of the conspiracy] should execute each his-own business (part).

Sed ea dicebantur divisa hoc modo,  
But those (parts) were said (to be) divided in this manner,

uti Statilius et Gabinius, cum magnâ manu,  
that Statilius and Gabinius, with a great band,

incenderent duodecim opportuna loca urbis  
should set-fire-to twelve opportune places of the city



simul, quo tumultu facilius aditus fieret  
 at-the-same-time, in which tumult an easier access might be made  
 ad consulem, que cæteros quibus insidiæ parabantur.  
 to the consul, and the others for whom snares were prepared.

Cethegus obsideret januam Ciceronis, que  
 [That] Cethegus should block-up the gate of Cicero, and

aggrederetur eum vi; autem alius  
 should attack him with force; but another (should attack)

aliud: sed filii familiarum, quorum maxuma pars  
 another: but the sons of families, of whom the greatest part

erat ex nobilitate, interficerent parentes:  
 was of the nobility, should murder (their) parents:

simul omnibus percussis cæde et incendio,  
 at-the-same-time all being stricken by slaughter and by burning,

erumperent ad Catilinam. Inter hæc  
 they should burst-forth (sally) to Catiline. Among these

parata atque decreta, Cethegus querebatur  
 prepared (preparations) and determinations, Cethegus did complain

semper de ignaviâ sociorum: illos  
 always of the remissness of (his) associates: [that] those

corrumpere magnas opportunitates  
 to corrupt (mar) [did mar] great opportunities

dubitando et prolatando dies;  
 by hesitating and deferring days [and putting off the time for

esse opus in tali periculo, facto  
 executing the plot]; to be need in such danger, for deed

non consulto: que se, si pauci  
 not for deliberation: and [that] himself, if a few

adjuvarent, aliis languentibus, facturum  
 would assist, others being-remiss, about-to-make [would make]

impetum in curiam. Erat naturâ ferox,  
 an attack against the senate-house. He was by nature fierce,

vehemens, promptus manu; putabat maximum  
 vehement, ready in hand (action); he did think the greatest

bonum in celeritate. Sed Allobroges conveniunt  
 good (to be) in despatch. But the Allobroges assemble

cæteros per Gabinium, ex præcepto  
 (meet) the rest through Gabinius, according-to the direction

Ciceronis: postulant jusjurandum, quod perferant  
 of Cicero: they require an oath, which they may carry

signatum ad civis (cives), ab Lentulo,  
 sealed to the citizens [of their state], from Lentulus,

Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio: eos haud  
 Cethegus, Statilius, also from Cassius: [that] those not

posse facilitè impelli aliter ad tantum  
 to be-able [could not] easily to be impelled otherwise to so-great

negotium. Cæteri, suspicantes nihil, dant: Cassius  
 an affair. The others, suspecting nothing, give (it): Cassius

pollicetur semet venturum brevi eò, ac proficiscitur  
 promises himself about-to-come shortly [there], and sets-out

ex urbe paulò ante legatos. Lentulus mittit  
 from the city a little before the ambassadors. Lentulus sends

quemdam Titum Volturcium, Crotoniensem, cum his,  
 a certain Titus Volturcius, a Crotonian, with these,

ut Allobroges confirmarent societatem cum Catilina,  
 that the Allobroges might strengthen the alliance with Catiline,

priusquàm pergerent domum, fide  
 before-that they might proceed home, faith (pledges of honour)

datâ atque accepta. Ipse dat literas  
 having been given and received. He gives letters (an epistle)

Volturcio ad Catilinam, exemplum quarum est  
 to Volturcius for Catiline, a copy of which is

scriptum infrâ.  
 written beneath.

Cognosces ex eo, quem misi ad te,  
 Thou wilt know from him, whom I have sent to thee,

qui sim. Fac cogites  
 who I may be (I am). Do thou mayest consider (take care to consider)

in quantâ calamitate sis, et memineris te  
 in how-great calamity thou mayest be, and remember thee

esse virum: consideres quid  
 to be a man: (take care) thou mayest consider (to consider) what

tuæ rationes postulent; petas  
 thy plans [circumstances] may require; thou mayest seek (to seek)

auxilium ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis.  
 aid from all, even from the lowest.

Ad-hoc, dat mandata verbis: quo consilio  
 Besides, he gives commands in words: with what design

repudiet servitia?

(reason) he may reject slaveries (slaves)? [why should he reject slaves?]

cùm judicatus-sit hostis ab senatu:  
 since he may have been judged (has been judged) an enemy by the senate:

quæ jusserit esse parata in  
 (the things) which he may have (has) ordered to be prepared in

urbe:

the city: [the things which he had ordered to be done in the city, are

ipse ne-cunctetur acce-  
 prepared]: himself may not-delay [that he should not delay] to ap-

dere propius. His rebus actis ita, constitutâ  
 proach nearer. These things having been done so, on the appointed

nocte quâ proficiscerentur, Cicero edoctus  
 night on which they should set-out, Cicero having been instructed-in

cuncta per legatos, imperat prætoribus,  
 all (thing) by the ambassadors, orders to the pretors,

Lucio Valerio Flacco et Caio Pomptino, ut deprehendant  
 Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Caius Pomptinus, that they may seize

comitatus Allobrogum, per insidias,  
 (to apprehend) the attendants of the Allobroges, by ambushes (ambush),

in Mulvio ponte: aperit omnem rem  
 on the Mulvian bridge: he discovers [to them] all the thing

gratiâ cujus mittebantur: agant  
 by cause (for the sake) of which they were sent: they may do (to do)

cætera, uti sit opus facto.  
 the rest, as (there) may be need for deed. [He allows them to execute

Militares  
 the rest of the affair as occasion may require.] (These) military

homines, præsidiis collocatis sine tumultu, obsidunt  
 men, the guards being arranged without tumult, beset

pontem occultè, sicuti præceptum-erat. Postquam  
 the bridge secretly, as it had been ordered. After

legati venêre cum Volturcio ad id loci,  
 the ambassadors came with Volturcius to that of place,

clamor exortus-est simul utrimque. Galli,  
 a shout arose at-the-same-time on-both-sides. The Gauls,

consilio cognito, citò tradiderunt se  
 the design being known [to them], quickly delivered themselves  
 sine morâ prætoribus. Volturcius primò, cohortatus  
 without delay to the pretors. Volturcius first, having encouraged  
 cæteros, defendit se â multitudine gladio:  
 the rest, defends himself from the multitude with a sword:  
 dein ubi desertus-est à legatis, obtestatus  
 then when he was deserted by the ambassadors, having conjured

Pomptinum priùs multa  
 (having first entreated) Pomptinus before many (things)

de suâ salute, quòd notus-erat ei,  
 [earnestly] concerning his safety, because he had been known to him,

postremò, timidus ac diffidens vitæ, dedit sese  
 finally, fearful and distrusting for life, he surrenders himself

prætoribus velut hostibus. Quibus rebus confectis,  
 to the pretors as to enemies. Which things being finished,

omnia declarantur properè per nuncios consuli.  
 all are declared speedily by messengers to the consul.

At ingens cura atque lætitia, simul, occu-  
 But great anxiety and gladness, at-the-same-time, occu-

pavere illum. Lætabatur, intelligens civitatem esse  
 pied him. He did rejoice, understanding the state to be

ereptam periculis, conjuratione patefactâ; autem  
 rescued from danger, the conspiracy having been exposed; but

porro erat anxius quid esset opus facto  
 moreover he was anxious what might be necessary for deed

tantis civibus, deprehensis in maximo  
 (to be done) so-great citizens, being discovered in the greatest

scelere; pœnam illorum fore oneri  
 wickedness; the punishment of them to-be-about-to-be for a burden

sibi, impunitatem reipublicæ perdundæ.  
 to him, (their) pardon (the cause) of the republic to be destroyed.

Igitur animo con-  
 [Of the destruction of the republic.] Therefore (his) mind having been

firmato, jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Sta-  
 strengthened (made up), he orders Lentulus, Cethegus, Sta-

tilium, Gabinium, que Ceparium Tarracinensem, qui  
 tilius, Gabinius, and Ceparius the Tarracinian, who

parabat proficisci in Apuliam ad servitia concitanda,  
 did prepare to set-out into Apulia to. slaveries to-be-excited

vocari ad sese. Cæteri veniunt  
 (to excite the slaves), to be called to himself. The rest come

sine morâ. Ceparius egressus domo paulo  
 without delay. Ceparius having departed from home a little

antè, indicio cognito, profugerat ex urbe.  
 before, the discovery having been known, had fled out-of the city.

Consul ipse, tenens Lentulum manu, quòd erat  
 The consul self, holding Lentulus by the hand, because he was

prætor, perducit in senatum; jubet reliquos  
 pretor, leads (him) into the senate; he orders the rest

venire cum custodibus in ædem Concordiæ. Advocat  
 to come with guards into the temple of Concord. He summons

senatum eò, que introducit Volturcium cum  
 the senate thither, and introduces Volturcius with

legatis magnâ frequentiâ ejus ordinis;  
 the ambassadors in a great fulness (attendance) of that order;

jubet Flaccum, prætorem, adferre eòdem  
 he orders Flaccus, the pretor, to bring to the-same-place

scrinium, cum literis, quas acceperat à  
 the writing-desk, with the letters, which he had received from

legatis. Volturcius interrogatus de itinere, XL  
 the ambassadors. Volturcius being questioned concerning the journey,

de literis, postremò, quid consilii habuisset,  
 concerning the letters, finally, what design he might have had

aut de quâ causâ, primò fingere  
 (he had), or about what cause, at-first (began) to feign

omnia alia, dissimulare de conjuratione;  
 all other (things), to dissemble concerning the conspiracy;

pòst ubi jussus-est dicere publicâ fide,  
 after when he was ordered to speak on the public honour, [being given

aperit omnia, uti gesta-  
 him for his safety], he discloses all (things), as they had been

erant; se ascitum-(esse)  
 carried-on; [that he] himself to have been attached (as) [was admitted]

socium paucis diebus antè à Gabinio et Cepario;  
 an associate a few days before by Gabinus and Ceparius;

scire nihil ampliùs quàm legatos ;  
to know [that he knew] nothing more than the ambassadors ;

tantummodo solitum audire ex Gabinio,  
only (being) accustomed to hear from Gabinus, [that]

Publium Autronium, Servium Sullam, Lucium Var-  
Publius Autronius, Servius Sylla, Lucius Var-

gunteium, multos præterea esse in eâ conju-  
gunteius, [and] many besides to be [were] in that conspi-

ratione. Galli fatentur eadem, at coarguunt Len-  
racy. The Gauls confess the same, but they convict Len-

tulum dissimulantem, præter literas sermonibus,  
tulus dissembling, beside the letters (letter), by discourses,

quos ille solitus-erat habere, regnum  
which he had been accustomed to have [with them, that] the kingdom

Romæ portendi tribus Corneliis ex Sibyl-  
of Rome to be foreboded [was foretold] to three Corneli out-of the Si-

linis libris: Cinnam atque Sullam antea ; se  
bylline books: Cinna and Sylla (possessed it) before ; himself

esse tertium, cui fatum foret  
to be the third, to whom fate would be [whose fate it would be]

potiri urbis ; præterea illum esse vigesimum  
to be-master of the city ; moreover that to be the twentieth

annum ab Capitolio incenso, quem  
year from the Capitol being burned, which (year)

haruspices sæpè respondissent ex  
the soothsayers often might have answered (had answered) from

prodigiis fore cruentum civili bello. Igitur  
prodigies to be-about-to-be bloody by civil war. Therefore

literis perlectis, cum omnes  
the letters (letter) having been read-through, when all

cognovissent sua signa, senatus  
might have known (had admitted) their-own signs (seals), the senate

decernit, ut Lentulus, magistratu abdicato, que  
decrees, that Lentulus, the magistracy being resigned, and

item cæteri, habeantur in liberis custodiis.  
likewise the rest, may be kept in free custodies

Itaque traduntur,  
(in the custody of private persons). Therefore they are delivered (thus),



Lentulus      Publio Lentulo Spintheri, qui erat tum  
Lentulus      to Publius Lentulus Spinther, who was then

ædilis; Cethegus      Quinto Cornificio; Statilius Caio  
edile;      Cethegus      to Quintus Cornificius; Statilius to Caius

Cæsari; Gabinius      Marco Crasso; Ceparius (nam is  
Cæsar;      Gabinius      to Marcus Crassus; Ceparius (for he

retractus-erat      paulò antè ex fuga) Cneio  
had been brought-back      a little before from flight) to Cneius

Terentio, senatori. Interea plebes, conjuratione XL  
Terentius, a senator. Mean-time the commons, the conspiracy

patefactâ, quæ primò      cupida novarum rerum,  
being discovered, who at first (being) desirous of new things

favebat nimis bello,      mente  
(a revolution), did favour too-much to the war, (their) mind

mutatâ,      exsecrari consilia Catilinæ, tollere,  
being changed, (began) to execrate the designs of Catiline, to raise

Ciceronem ad cœlum; velut erepta ex servitute  
Cicero to heaven; as-if rescued from slavery (they)

agitabat      gaudium atque lætitiâ. Namque  
did agitate (display) joy and gladness. For

putabat alia facinora belli fore  
(the common people) did think other exploits of war to-be-about-to-be

prædæ magis quàm      detrimento, verò  
for booty rather than [to themselves] injury, but

incendium crudele, immoderatum, ac maxime  
burning (to be) cruel, immoderate, and chiefly

calamitosum sibi; quippe      cui omnes  
calamitous to themselves; because (an order) to whom all

copiæ erant in quotidiano usu et cultu corporis.  
supplies were in daily use and dress of body.

[Since all their property consisted of things in daily use, and of clothing].

Post eum diem, quidam      Lucius Tarquinius  
After that day, a certain Lucius Tarquinius

adductus-erat ad senatum, quem aiebant  
had been brought-up to the senate, whom they did say

retractum      ex      itinere,  
(to have been) brought-back from (his) journey, (when)

proficiscentem ad Catilinam. Cùm is diceret  
 setting-out to Catiline. When he might say (said)

se indicaturum de  
 himself about-to-inform [that he would inform] concerning

conjurazione, si publica fides data-esset,  
 the conspiracy, if the public faith might have been given [to him

jussus à consule edicere quæ sciret,  
 for safety], being ordered by the consul to declare what he might know,

edocet senatum ferè eadem quæ Volturcius,  
 he informs the senate almost the same (things) which Volturcius (did),

de incendiis paratis, de cæde bonorum,  
 of burnings having been prepared, of the murder of good (men),

de itinere hostium: præterea, se missum à  
 of the march of the enemies: moreover, himself being sent by

Marco Crasso, qui nunciaret Catilinæ,  
 Marcus Crassus, who might tell (to tell) to Catiline, (that)

Lentulus, et Cethegus, que alii ex conjuratione,  
 Lentulus, and Cethegus, and others of the conspiracy,

deprehensi ne-terrerent eum; que  
 having been apprehended should not-affright him; and

properaret magis eò accedere ad urbem,  
 he should hasten the more therefore to-approach to the city,

quò et reficeret animos cæterorum,  
 in-order-that and (both) he might refresh the minds of the rest,

et illi eriperentur faciliùs è periculo. Sed  
 and they might be rescued the more-easily from danger. But

ubi Tarquinius nominavit Crassum, nobilem hominem,  
 when Tarquinius named Crassus, a noble man,

maxumis divitiis, summâ potentiâ, alii  
 with the greatest riches, the highest power, some

rati rem incredibilem, pars, tametsi  
 having supposed the thing incredible, a part, although

existumabant verum, tamen, quia tanta vis  
 they did think (it) true, yet, because so-great influence

hominis videbatur leniunda magis quàm  
 of the man did seem to-be-softened rather than

exagitanda

to-be-provoked [a man of such great influence ought to be soothed rather

in tali tempore, plerique obnoxii  
 than provoked] in such a time, many subservient  
 Crasso ex privatis negotiis, conclamant,  
 to Crassus from private affairs, cry-out, [that]  
 indicem esse falsum, que postulant uti  
 the informer to be [was] false, and require that  
 referatur de eâ re. Itaque,  
 it may be referred (to the senate) concerning that thing. Therefore,  
 Cicerone consulente, frequens senatus  
 Cicero consulting (presiding), a crowded senate  
 decernit, indicium Tarquinii videri  
 decrees, the information of Tarquinius to be seen (to seem)  
 falsum, que eum retinendum in vinculis;  
 false, and him [to be] kept in bonds [prison];  
 que potestatem ne ampliùs faciundam,  
 and power (of divulging) not more to-be-made, [and that]  
 nisi indicaret  
 he be not allowed to proceed in his testimony], unless he might inform  
 de eo, consilio cujus mentitus-esset  
 of him, by the advice of whom he might have (had) forged  
 tantam rem. Erant eo tempore, qui  
 so-great a thing. There were at that time, (persons), who  
 existumarent illud machinatum à Publio  
 might think (thought) that plotted by Publius  
 Autronio, quò Crasso appellato, potentia illius  
 Autronius, in-order-that Crassus being named, the power of him  
 tegeret reliquos faciliùs, per societatem  
 might screen the rest more-easily, by (his) share  
 periculi. Alii aiebant Tarquinium  
 of (in the) danger. Others did say Tarquinius  
 immissum à Cicerone, ne Crassus, suo  
 sent-in (suborned) by Cicero, lest Crassus, by his  
 more conturbaret rempublicam,  
 custom [as was his custom] might disturb the republic,  
 patrocinio malorum suscepto. Ego postea  
 the patronage of the bad being undertaken [by him]. I afterwards  
 audiavi Crassum ipsum prædicantem illam tantam  
 heard Crassus [himself] openly declaring that so-great

contumeliam impositam sibi à Cicerone.  
 an insult (to have been) placed to (on) him by Cicero.

Sed iisdem temporibus, Quintus Catulus et Caius  
 But at-the-same times, Quintus Catulus and Caius

Piso potuere impellere Ciceronem neque gratiâ,  
 Piso were able to impel Cicero neither by interest,

neque precibus, neque pretio, uti Caius Cæsar  
 nor by prayers, nor by price, that Caius Cæsar

nominaretur falsò per Allobroges aut alium indicem.  
 might be named falsely by the Allobroges or other informer.

Nam uterque exercebant gravis (graves) inimicitias  
 For each (both) did exercise dreadful enmities

cum illo; Piso oppugnatus in iudicio  
 with him; Piso having been assailed in a trial

repetundarum (*pl.*), propter injustum supplicium  
 of extortion, on-account-of the unjust punishment

cujusdam Transpadani; Catulus incensus odio  
 of a certain Transpadanian; Catulus being inflamed with hatred

ex petitione pontificatûs, quod usus  
 from (since) his canvass of the high-priesthood, because having enjoyed

maxumis honoribus (*abl.*) extremâ ætate discesserat,  
 the greatest honours (now) in extreme age he had departed,

victus à Cæsare, adolescentulo. Autem res  
 conquered by Cæsar, a young man. But the thing

videbatur opportuna, quòd is debebat grandem  
 did seem opportune, because he [Cæsar] did owe great

pecuniam egregiâ liberalitate privatim,  
 money (a great debt) by extraordinary liberality privately,

maxumis muneribus publicè. Sed ubi  
 by-very-great presents (exhibitions) publicly. But when

nequeunt impellere consulem ad tantum facinus,  
 they are-unable to impel the consul to so-great a crime,

ipsi conflaverant magnam invidiam illi  
 themselves had-contracted great odium for him [had excit-

circumeundo singillatim, atque  
 ed great odium against him] by-going-about individually, and

ementiendo quæ dicerent audisse ex  
 by forging what they might-say (they said) to have heard from

Volturcio, aut Allobrogibus; usque adeò, uti  
 Volturcius, or the Allobroges; until to-this (so far), that  
 nonnulli Romani equites, qui erant cum telis  
 some [Roman] knights, who were with weapons [armed]  
 circum ædem Concordiæ, causâ præsidii,  
 about the temple of Concord, by cause (for the sake) of guard,  
 impulsu seu magnitudine periculi, seu  
 being impelled either by the magnitude of the danger, or  
 mobilitate animi, quò suum studium in  
 by levity of mind, in-order-that their zeal toward  
 rempublicam esset clarius, minitarentur  
 the republic might be more-conspicuous, might threaten (threatened)  
 gladio Cæsari egredienti ex senatu. Dum  
 with a sword to Cæsar going-out from the senate. Whilst  
 hæc aguntur in senatu, et dum præmia  
 these (things) are done in the senate, and whilst rewards  
 decernuntur legatis Allobrogum et Tito  
 are decreed to the ambassadors of the Allobroges and to Titus  
 Volturcio, indicio eorum comprobato;  
 Volturcius, the information of them having been approved;  
 liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli,  
 the freed-men and a few of the dependants of Lentulus,  
 sollicitabant, diversis itineribus, opifices atque  
 did stir-up, in different directions, the mechanics and  
 servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum:  
 slaveries (slaves) in the streets to him to-be-rescued: [to rescue  
 partim exquirebant duces multitudinum,  
 him]: partly (some) did search-out the leaders of multitudes  
 qui soliti-erant vexare rempublicam  
 (mobs), who had been accustomed to harass the republic  
 pretio. Autem Cethegus orabat per nuncios,  
 for hire. But Cethegus did entreat through messengers,  
 familiam atque suos libertos exercitatos in  
 (his) household and his freed-men exercised in  
 audaciam, uti grege facto irrumperent  
 boldness, that a flock (band) having been formed, they would break-in  
 ad sese cum telis. Consul, ubi cognovit ea  
 to himself with weapons. The consul, when he knew those



parari, præsiidiis dispositis, uti res  
(things) to be prepared, guards being arranged, as the thing

atque tempus monebat, senatu convocato, refert  
and time did advise, the senate being convoked, refers

quid placeat fieri de his, qui  
(asks) what it may please to be done concerning those, who

traditi-erant in custodiam. Sed frequens senatus  
had been-delivered into custody. But a crowded senate

judicaverat paulò antè eos fecisse  
had judged a little before [that] them to have acted [had acted]

contra rempublicam. Tum Decius Junius Silanus  
against the republic. Then Decius Junius Silanus

primus rogatus sententiam, quòd eo tempore  
first being asked (his) opinion, because at that time

erat consul designatus, decreverat supplicium  
he was consul elect, had decreed punishment

sumendum

to-be-inflicted [gave it as his opinion that punishment ought to be in-

de his, qui tenebantur in custodiis; et  
flicted] on those, who were detained in custodies; and

præterea de Lucio Cassio, Publio Furio, Publio  
moreover on Lucius Cassius, Publius Furius, Publius

Umbreno, Quinto Annio, si deprehensi-forent:  
Umbrenus, Quintus Annius, if they might have been apprehended:

que is postea permotus  
[should they be apprehended]: and he afterwards affected

oratione Caii Cæsaris, dixerat se iturum  
by the speech of Caius Cæsar, had said himself about-to-go

pedibus

on feet [that he was about to go into a division of the senate on the

in sententiam Tiberii Neronis,  
question] (without a speech) into the opinion of Tiberius Nero,

quòd censuerat referendum  
because he had thought (it ought) to-be-referred (to the senate)

de eâ re, præsiidiis additis.  
concerning that thing, [for further investigation], guards being added.

[The prisoners being kept under guard]. Sed Cæsar, ubi  
But Cæsar, when



ventum-est ad eum, rogatus  
 it was come to him (to his turn), having been asked (his)  
 sententiam à consule, locutus-est verba  
 opinion by the consul, spoke words

hujuscemodi :  
 of this-kind :

Conscripti patres, decet omnis (omnes) homines,  
 Conscript fathers, it becomes all men,  
 qui consultant de dubiis rebus, esse  
 who deliberate-often concerning doubtful things, to be  
 vacuos ab odio, amicitia, ira, atque misericordia.  
 free from hatred, friendship, anger, and pity.

Animus haud facile providet verum,  
 The mind (does) not easily foresees (perceives) true, (truth)  
 ubi illa officiant : neque quisquam omnium  
 where those [things] obstruct [it] : neither any-one of-all  
 paruit lubrici et usui simul. Ubi  
 has obeyed to lust (passion) and to utility at-the-same-time. When

intenderis ingenium, valet ; si  
 thou mayest have applied (you apply) the understanding, it prevails ; if  
 lubrici possidet, ea dominatur, animus valet nihil.  
 passion takes-possession, that rules, the mind prevails nothing.

Conscripti patres, est mihi magna copia  
 Conscript fathers, there is to me a great opportunity

memorandi, qui reges aut qui populi  
 of relating, [supply of examples], what kings or what peoples

impulsi ira aut misericordia, consuluerint  
 (people) impelled by anger or by pity, may have consulted

(*perf. sub.*) male : sed malo dicere ea,  
 (have consulted) badly : but I had-rather mention those (things),

quæ nostri majores fecere rectè atque ordine  
 which our ancestors have done rightly and in order

contra lubricum sui animi. Macedonico bello,  
 against the passion of their mind. In the Macedonian war,

quod gessimus cum rege Perse, magna atque  
 which we carried-on with king Perses, the great and

magnifica civitas Rhodiorum, quæ creverat  
 magnificent state of the Rhodians, which had increased

opibus Romani populi, fuit infida atque advorsa  
 by the resources of the Roman people, was faithless and adverse  
 nobis: sed postquam, bello confecto, consultum-  
 to us: but after-that, the war having been finished, it was delibe-  
 est de Rhodiis, nostri majores dimisere eos  
 rated concerning the Rhodians, our ancestors dismissed them  
 impunitos, ne quis diceret bellum  
 unpunished, lest any-one might say the war (to have been)  
 inceptum magis divitiarum, quàm  
 undertaken rather (on-account-of) of riches, than of (repelling)  
 injuriæ. Item in omnibus Punicis bellis, cum  
 injury. Likewise in all the Punic wars, when  
 Carthaginienses sæpe fecissent multa  
 the Carthaginians [often] might have done (had done) many  
 nefanda facinora et in pace et per inducias,  
 abominable acts both in peace and through truces,  
 ipsi nunquam fecere talia per occasionem;  
 they never did such (things) through opportunity  
 quærebant magis quod foret  
 [though opportunity offered]; they did seek rather what might be  
 dignum se, quàm quod posset fieri jure  
 worthy themselves, than what might to be done with right  
 in illos. Conscripti patres, hoc est item providendum  
 unto them. Conscript fathers, this is likewise to be-provided-for  
 vobis, scelus Publii Lentuli et  
 to (by) you, (that) the wickedness of Publius Lentulus and  
 cæterorum ne-valeat plùs apud vos, quàm  
 the rest may not-prevail more among (with) you, than  
 vestra dignitas, neu consulatis vestræ iræ  
 your-own dignity, nor (that) you may consult to your anger  
 magis quàm famæ. Nam si digna pœna  
 more than to character. For if worthy punishment  
 reperitur pro factis eorum, approbo novum consilium:  
 is found for the deeds of them, I approve the new counsel:  
 sin magnitudo sceleris exsuperat ingenia  
 but-if the magnitude of the wickedness exceed the understandings  
 omnium; censeo utendum iis  
 of all; I think to-use (we must-use) those (punishments),

quæ comparata-sunt legibus. Plerique eorum, qui  
which have been provided by the laws. Most of those, who

dixerunt sententias ante me, miserati-sunt  
have expressed (their) opinions before me, have bewailed

casum reipublicæ compositè atque  
the misfortune of the republic elegantly (in fine language) and

magnificè: enumeravere quæ esset sævitia belli:  
magnificently: they have enumerated what might be the cruelty of war:

quæ acciderent victis; virgines, pueros rapi;  
what might befall to the conquered; virgins, boys to be dragged-away;

liberos divelli à complexu parentum; matres  
children to be torn from the embrace of parents; mothers

familiarum pati, quæ collibuissent victoribus;  
of families to suffer, what might have pleased to the conquerors;

fana atque domos expoliari; cædem, incendia  
temples and houses to be pillaged; slaughter, burnings

feri; postremò, omnia compleri armis,  
to be made; lastly, all (places) to be filled with arms,

cadaveribus, cruore, atque luctu. Sed, per  
dead-bodies, gore, and grief. But, by (in the name of)

immortalis (immortales) deos, quò illa oratio  
the immortal gods, where that speech

pertinuit? An uti  
has tended? [what was the object of that speech]? Whether that

faceret vos infestos conjurationi? Scilicet, oratio  
he might make you hostile to the conspiracy? Forsooth, a speech

accendet eum, quem tanta atque tam atrox res  
shall inflame him, whom so-great and so heinous a thing

non-permovit! Est non ita: neque suæ injuriæ  
has not-affected! It is not so: neither their-own injuries

videntur parvæ cuiquam mortalium: multi habuere  
seem small to any of mortals: many have had

eas graviùs æquo. Sed, conscripti  
(accounted) them more-severely (than) just. But, conscript

patres, alia licentia est aliis.  
fathers, another (difference) license is to different (persons).

Qui demissi  
[There is a difference in the freedom of action.] (They) who cast-down

agunt vitam in obscuro, si deliquere  
spend (their) life in obscure (obscurity), [if they] have offended

quid, iracundiâ pauci sciunt: fama  
(in) any (thing) [by anger] few know (it): the fame

atque fortuna eorum sunt pares: cuncti mortales  
and fortune of them are equal: all mortals

novere facta eorum qui, præditi magno  
have known (know) the deeds of those who, endowed with great

imperio, agunt ætatem in excelso. Ita  
authority, spend (their) life in lofty (station). Thus

minuma licentia est in maxumâ fortunâ.  
the least license [of action] is in the greatest fortune.

Decet neque studere, neque odisse, sed  
It becomes neither to favour, neither to have hated (to hate), but

minumè irasci. Ea quæ dicitur iracundia apud  
least-of-all to-be-angry. That which is called anger amongst

alios, appellatur superbia atque crudelitas in  
others (some), is called pride and cruelty in

imperio. Equidem, conscripti patres, ego sic existumo  
authority. Indeed, conscript fathers, I thus think

omnis cruciatus esse minores quàm facinora illorum.  
all tortures to be less than the crimes of them.

Sed plerique mortales meminere postrema,  
But most mortals have remembered (remember) the last

et oblitî sceleris eorum, disserunt  
(occurrences), and having forgotten the crime of them, discuss

de poenâ in impiis hominibus, si ea  
of punishment in (the case of) impious men, if it

fuerit paulò severior. Scio certè  
may have been a little more-severe (too-severe). I know surely

Decium Silanum, fortem atque strenuum virum,  
Decius Silanus, a brave and strenuous man,

dixisse, quæ dixerit (*perf. sub.*) studio reipublicæ:  
to have said, what he may have said (has said) from zeal for the republic:

neque illum exercere gratiam  
neither him to exercise [that he neither exercised] favour

aut inimicitias tantâ re: cognovi eos  
or enmities in so-great a thing: I have known these (to be)

mores, eam modestiam viri. Verùm sententia  
 the principles, that the moderation of the man. But the opinion  
 ejus videtur mihi non crudelis (enim quid potest  
 of him seems to me not cruel (for what can  
 fieri crudele in talis (tales) homines?) sed aliena  
 be done cruel against such men?) but foreign  
 à nostrâ republica. Nam profecto,  
 (averse) from our republic (constitution). For indeed,  
 Silane, aut metus aut injuria subegit te consulem  
 Silane, either fear or injury compelled thee a consul  
 designatum, decernere novum genus poenæ. Est  
 elect, to decree a new kind of punishment. It is  
 supervacaneum disserere de timore, cùm tanta  
 useless to discuss concerning fear, when so-great  
 præsidia sint in armis præsentì diligentia  
 guards may be (are) in arms by the prompt diligence  
 clarissimi viri, consulis. Equidem possum dicere  
 of a most-renowned man, the consul. Indeed I can say  
 id de poenâ, quod res habet:  
 that of punishment, which the thing has (imports): [that]  
 mortem esse requiem ærumnarum, non  
 death to be [is] a rest of (from) toils, not  
 cruciatum, in luctu atque miseriis; eam  
 a torture, in grief and miseries; [that] it (death)  
 dissolvere cuncta mala mortalium; locum  
 to dissolve [dissolves] all [the] evils of mortals; a place  
 esse ultra neque  
 to be beyond (it) neither [that there is no place beyond it either]  
 curæ neque gaudio. Sed per  
 for care neither [or] joy. But by (in the name of)  
 immortalis (immortales) deos, quamobrem addidisti  
 the immortal gods, why hast thou added  
 non in sententiam, utì animadverteretur priùs in  
 not to the opinion, that it might be animadverted before against  
 eos verberibus? An, quia  
 them (they should be the first punished) with stripes? Whether, because  
 Porcia lex vetat? At aliæ leges item jubent vitam  
 the Porcian law forbids? But other laws also order life



non eripi condemnatis civibus, sed exsilium  
not be snatched from condemned citizens, but exile

permitti. An quia est gravius verberari quàm  
to be allowed. Whether because it is severer to be scourged than

necari? Autem quid est acerbum aut  
to be put-to-death? But what is bitter or

nimis grave in homines convictos tanti facinoris?  
too severe against men convicted of so-great a crime?

Sin, quia est levius, quâ convenit  
But-if, because it is more-light (too light), by what (how) is-it-consistent

observare legem in minore negotio, cùm neg-  
to observe the law in a less business, when thou mayest

lexeris (*perf. sub.*) eam in majore? At,  
have-neglected it in a greater? But, (some will say)

enim quis reprehendat quod  
[why all this debate] for who may reprove what

decretum-erit in parricidas reipublicæ?  
shall have been decreed against the parricides of the republic? (I answer),

Tempus, dies, fortuna, lubido cujus  
time, days (occasion), fortune, the pleasure (caprice) of which

moderatur gentibus. Quidquid evenerit, acci-  
rules to nations. Whatsoever shall have occurred, will hap-

det meritò illis: cæterùm, conscripti patres,  
pen deservedly to them: but [for the rest], conscript fathers,

vos-considerate quid statuatis in alios. Omnia  
consider-ye what you may resolve against others. All

mala exempla orta-sunt ex bonis initiis: sed ubi  
bad examples have arisen from good beginnings: but when

imperium pervenit ad ignaros, aut minùs bonos,  
authority comes to the ignorant, or less good,

illud novum exemplum transfertur ab dignis  
that new example (precedent) is transferred from the worthy

et idoneis, ad indignos et non-idoneos. Lacedæmonii,  
and fit, to the unworthy and unfit. The Lacedemonians,

Atheniensibus devictis, imposuere triginta  
the Athenians having been conquered, placed-over (them) thirty

viros, qui tractarent rempublicam. Hi primò cœpere  
men, who might manage the republic. These at-first began



necare quemque pessimum et invisum omnibus,  
 to put-to-death every-one most-base and odious to all,  
 indemnatum: populus lætari eo, et dicere  
 uncondemned: the people (began) to rejoice in that, and to say  
 fieri meritò. Post ubi licentia crevit,  
 (it) to be done deservedly. After when misrule increased,  
 paulatim interficere bonos et malos lubi-  
 [by degrees] (they began) to kill the good and bad capri-  
 dinosè, terrere cæteros metu. Ita civitas, oppressa  
 ciously, to affright others by fear. Thus the state, oppressed  
 servitute, dedit poenas stultæ lætitiæ. Cùm  
 by slavery, gave punishments of foolish gladness. When  
 victor Sulla, nostrâ memoriâ, jussit Damasippum  
 the conqueror Sylla, in our memory, ordered Damasippus  
 et alios hujusmodi, qui creverant malo  
 and others of this kind, who had increased by the misfortune  
 reipublicæ jugulari, quis laudabat non factum  
 of the republic to be strangled, who did praise not the deed  
 ejus? Aiebant, scelestos et factiosos homines,  
 of him? They did say, wicked and factious men,  
 qui exagitaverant rempublicam seditionibus  
 who had harassed the republic by seditions (to be)  
 meritò necatos. Sed ea res fuit initium magnæ  
 deservedly put-to-death. But that thing was the beginning of great  
 cladis. Namque uti quisque concupiverat domum  
 slaughter. For as every-one had desired a house  
 aut villam, postremò aut vas aut vestimentum  
 or a villa, finally either the vase (plate) or clothing  
 alicujus, dabat operam, ut is esset in  
 of any-one, he did give exertion, that that (person) should be in  
 numero proscriptorum. Ita illi, quibus mors  
 the number of the proscribed. Thus they, to whom the death  
 Damasippi fuerat lætitiæ, ipsi trahebantur  
 of Damasippus had been for gladness, themselves were dragged  
 paulò post, neque fuit finis jugulandi,  
 (to execution) a little after, neither was an end of strangling,  
 priusquam Sulla explevit omnes suos  
 before-that Sylla filled all his-own (friends)

divitiis. Atque ego vereor non hoc in Marco Tullio,  
 with riches. And I fear not this in Marcus Tullius,  
 neque his temporibus. Sed multa et varia  
 neither in these times. But many and various  
 ingenia sunt in magnâ civitate. Aliquid falsum  
 dispositions are in a great state. Some (thing) false

potest credi pro vero, alio tempore,  
 can to be believed for true, in another time, (under)

alio consule, cui item exercitus sit in manu.  
 another consul, to whom also an army may be in hand

Ubi consul eduxerit gladium per  
 [entrusted]. When the consul shall have drawn the sword by

decretum senatûs, hoc exemplo, quis statuet  
 a decree of the senate, from this precedent, who shall assign

finem illi, aut quis moderabitur? Conscripti  
 a limit to him, or who shall restrain (him)? Conscript

patres, nostri majores neque unquam eguere consilii  
 fathers, our ancestors neither ever wanted of counsel

neque audaciæ: neque superbia obstabat, quò  
 nor of boldness: neither pride did oppose, that

minus-imitarentur aliena instituta, si modo  
 they would less-imitate (not imitate) foreign institutes, if only

erant proba. Sumpserunt arma atque militaria  
 they were good. They took arms and military

tela ab Samnitibus: pleraque insignia magis-  
 weapons from the Samnites: most ensigns of magis-

tratum ab Tuscis: postremò exsequebantur  
 trates from the Tuscans: finally they practised

summo studio domi, quod videbatur idoneum  
 with the utmost zeal at home, what did seem fit

ubique apud socios aut hostis  
 [and best for their use] every-where among allies or enemies:

(hostes): malebant imitari, quàm invidere bonis.  
 they had-rather to imitate, than to envy to the good.

Sed imitati  
 [They preferred imitating to envying what was good.] But having imitated

morem Græciæ illo eodem tempore, animadvertabant  
 the custom of Greece in that same time, they did animadvert

verberibus in civis (cives), sumebant  
 (punish) with stripes against citizens they did take  
 summum supplicium de condemnatis. Postquam  
 the utmost punishment of the condemned. After  
 respublica adolevit, et factiones valere  
 the republic grew-up (flourished), and factions prevailed  
 multitudine civium, innocentes cœpere circumveniri,  
 by the multitude of citizens, the innocent began to be beset,  
 alia hujusmodi fieri: tunc Porcia lex, que  
 other (things) of this kind to be done: then the Porcian law, and  
 aliæ leges, paratæ-sunt, quibus legibus exsilium  
 other laws, were prepared, by which laws exile  
 permissum-est damnatis. Conscripti patres, ego  
 was allowed to the condemned. Conscript fathers, I  
 puto hanc causam in-primis magnam, quò  
 think this reason particularly great, in-order-that  
 minùs-capiamus novum consilium.  
 we may less (not) take a new counsel. [Deviate from the counsel

Profectò, virtus atque sapientia  
 and usages of our forefathers.] Indeed, virtue and wisdom  
 fuit major in illis, qui fecere imperium tantum  
 has been greater in those, who have made the government so-great  
 ex parvis opibus quàm in nobis, qui vix retinemus  
 from small resources than in us, who scarcely retain  
 ea benè parta. Igitur placet eos  
 those (things) well acquired. Therefore does it please (me) them

dimitti, et exercitum Catilinæ augeri?  
 to be dismissed, and the army of Catiline to be increased?

Minumè: sed censeo ita: pecunias eorum  
 By-no-means: but I think thus: the moneys (property) of them  
 publicandas, ipsos habendos in vinculis per  
 to-be-confiscated, themselves to-be-kept in bonds through  
 municipia, quæ maxime-valent opibus, neu  
 the municipal-towns, which are-most-strong in resources, nor  
 quis postea referat ad senatum,  
 any-one afterwards may refer to the senate [nor may any one here-

neve agat cum  
 after refer their case to the senate], nor may act (treat) with

populo de his: senatum existumare eum, qui  
 the people concerning them: the senate to think him, who  
 fecerit aliter, facturum contra rempublicam et  
 shall have done otherwise, about-to-do against the republic and  
 salutem omnium.  
 the safety of all.

L 11. Postquam Cæsar fecit finem dicendi, cæteri  
 After Cæsar made an end of speaking, the others  
 assentiebantur variè verbo, alius alii.  
 did assent variously in word, another (one) to another.

[The others gave merely their verbal assent variously to the opinion of

At Marcus Porcius Cato  
 each of those who had spoken.] But Marcus Porcius Cato  
 rogatus sententiam, habuit orationem  
 being asked (his) opinion, had (delivered) a speech  
 hujusmodi.  
 of-this-kind.

Conscripti patres, mens longe alia est mihi,  
 Conscript fathers, a mind far other (different) is to me,  
 cùm considero res atque nostra pericula, et cùm  
 when I consider things and our dangers, and when  
 ipse reputo mecum sententias nonnullorum.  
 (I my) self revolve with me the opinions of some.

Illi videntur mihi disseruisse de poenâ eorum,  
 They seem to me to have discussed of the punishment of those,

qui paravere bellum patriæ, parentibus,  
 who have prepared war to (against their) country, parents,

suis aris atque focis: autem res monet magis  
 their altars and hearths: but the thing advises rather

cavere ab illis, quàm consultare, quid statuamus  
 to beware from them, than to deliberate, what we may determine

in illos. Nam persequare alia maleficia  
 against them. For thou mayest persecute (punish) other crimes

tum, ubi facta-sunt: nisi provideris, ne  
 then, when they have been done: unless thou shalt have provided, lest

hoc accadat, implores judicia frustra, ubi  
 this may happen, thou mayest implore judgments in-vain, when

evenit. Urbe captâ, nihil reliqui  
 it has happened. The city having been taken, nothing of remaining  
 fit victis. Sed per  
 is made (nothing is left) to the vanquished. But by (in the name of)  
 immortalis (immortales) Deos, ego appello vos, qui  
 the immortal Gods, I address you, who

semper fecistis pluris vestras domos,  
 always have made of more (have valued more) your houses,  
 villas, signa, tabulas, quàm rempublicam: si vultis  
 villas, statues, pictures, than the republic: if you will

retinere ista cujuscumque modi sint, quæ  
 to retain these (things), of whatever kind they may be, which

amplexamini; si præbere otium  
 you embrace; [are so fond of] if [you wish] to afford leisure

vestris voluptatibus; aliquando expergiscimini,  
 to your pleasures; sometime (at length) arouse,

et capessite rempublicam. Non-agitur  
 and take-in-hand [and defend] the republic. It is not acted

de vectigalibus, non de injuriis  
 (we are not treating) of taxes, not of the injuries

sociorum: nostra libertas et anima est in dubio.  
 of allies: our liberty and life is in a doubtful

Conscripti patres, sæpenumero feci multa  
 (state). Conscript fathers, oftentimes I have made many

verba in hoc ordine:  
 words in this order (house): [I have often spoken in the senate:]

sæpè questus-sum de luxuriâ atque avaritiâ  
 often I have complained of the luxury and avarice

nostrorum civium: que habeo multos mortalis (mortales)  
 of our citizens: and have many mortals

adversos eâ causâ: qui fecissem  
 adverse (to me) from that account: (I) who might have made (had made)

unquam gratiam nullius delicti mihi atque meo  
 ever indulgence of no fault to myself and to my

animo, haud  
 mind, [I who never granted indulgence to myself for a fault,] not

facile condonabam malè-facta lubidini alterius.  
 easily did pardon bad-deeds to the passion of another.

Sed tametsi vos pendebatis ea parvi,  
 But although you did esteem those (things) of little (consequence),  
 tamen respublica erat firma: opulentia tolerabat  
 yet the republic was strong: opulence did support  
 negligentiam. Vero nunc id agitur non, ne  
 negligence. But [now] that is treated not, whether  
 vivamus bonis an malis moribus; neque  
 we may live (we live) with good or bad morals; neither  
 quantum aut quàm magnificum imperium Romani  
 how-great or how magnificent the government of the Roman  
 populi sit; sed an hæc, cujuscumque modi  
 people may-be; but whether these (things), of whatever kind  
 videntur, sint futura nostra, an unà nobis-cum,  
 they appear, may-be about-to-be ours, or together with-us,  
 hostium.

of (belonging to) the enemies. [Whether all these things may belong to

us, or together with ourselves belong to the enemy]. (Does) any-one  
 hîc nominat mihi mansuetudinem et misericordiam?  
 here name [to me] mildness and mercy?

Jampridem equidem amisimus vera vocabula rerum;  
 Long-since indeed we have lost the true titles of things;

quia largiri aliena bona vocatur liberalitas;  
 because to bestow another's goods is called liberality;

audacia malarum rerum, fortitudo; eò  
 boldness of (in) bad things, fortitude; therefore

respublica est sita in extremo. Quoniam  
 the republic is situate in extreme (danger). Since

mores habent se ita, sint sanè liberales  
 manners have themselves so, let (them) be indeed liberal

ex fortunis sociorum; sint misericordes  
 out-of the fortunes of (our) allies; let (them) be compassionate

in furibus ærarii: ne illis largiantur  
 towards the thieves of the treasury: not to them may they bestow

nostrum sanguinem,  
 our blood, [let them only not bestow our blood on them],

et dum parcunt paucis (dat.) sceleratis, eant  
 and whilst they spare a few wicked (men), they may go



perditum          omnis (omnes)          bonos.          Caius Cæsar  
 to destroy          all          the good.          Caius Cæsar  
 disseruit          paulò antè, in hoc ordine,          bene et  
 has discussed          a little before, in this order (house), well and  
 compositè de vitâ et morte; credo, existumans  
 elegantly          about life and death; I believe,          thinking  
 ea          falsa, quæ memorantur de inferis,  
 those (things) false, which are related of the low (regions), [that]  
 malos habere          tetra, inculta, fœda, atque  
 the bad to have (inhabit) noisome, waste, filthy, [and]  
 formidolosa loca, diverso itinere          à bonis.  
 dreadful          places, in a different way (direction) from the good.  
 Itaque          censuit          pecunias          eorum  
 Therefore          he has decided          the moneys (property) of them  
 publicandas, ipsos habendos in custodiis  
 to-be-confiscated, themselves to-be-kept in custodies (prison)  
 per municipia; videlicet, ne, si sint Romæ,  
 through the municipal-towns; forsooth, lest, if they may be at Rome,  
 eripiantur per vim, aut à popularibus  
 they may be rescued through force, either by the accomplices  
 conjurationis, aut à conductâ multitudine. Quasi  
 of the conspiracy, or by a hired multitude. As-if  
 verò mali atque scelesti sint (*sub.*) tantummodo  
 indeed bad and wicked (men) may be (are) only  
 in urbe, et non per totam Italiam; aut  
 in the city, and not through the whole Italy; or  
 audacia non-possit plus ibi, ubi sunt  
 boldness may not-be able (to do) more there, where (there) are  
 minores opes ad-defendendum. Quare  
 less resources to-defend [means of defence]. Wherefore  
 equidem hoc consilium est vanum, si metuit periculum  
 indeed this advice is vain, if he fears danger  
 ex illis. Sin solus timet non in tanto metu  
 from them. But-if (he) alone fears not in so-great fear  
 omnium, refert me timere magis mihi, atque  
 of all, it concerns me to fear the more for me, and  
 vobis. Quare cùm statuetis de Publio  
 for you. Wherefore when you shall determine concerning Publius

Lentulo que cæteris; habetote pro certo, vos  
 Lentulus and the others; have (it) for certain, [that] you  
 simul decernere de exercitu Catilinæ,  
 at-the-same-time to decree [decree] concerning the army of Catiline,  
 et de omnibus conjuratis. Quanto  
 and concerning all the conspirators. By how-much  
 attentius agetis ea, tanto  
 the more-attentively (vigorously) you shall do those (things), by so-much  
 animus erit infirmior illis: si viderint  
 mind (spirit) shall be weaker to them: if they shall have seen  
 vos languere modò paululùm, aderunt feroces.  
 you to languish only a-little, they will be-present fierce.

[The more vigorously you act, the more you will dispirit them; the more

Nolite  
 remissly you act, the more you will encourage them.] Be-unwilling  
 existumare nostros majores fecisse rem-  
 to think [that] our ancestors to have made [made] the re-  
 publicam magnam ex parvâ armis. Si  
 public great from (being) small by arms [alone]. If  
 res esset (*imp. sub.*) ita, nos haberemus eam  
 the thing might be (were) so, we might have it  
 multò pulcherrumam: quippe major copia  
 by-much the most-fair (splendid): for a greater abundance  
 sociorum atque civium, præterea armorum atque  
 of allies and of citizens, moreover of arms and  
 equorum, est nobis quàm illis. Sed alia  
 of horses, is to us than to them [our ancestors]. But other

fuere, quæ fecere illos magnos, quæ sunt  
 (things) were, which made them great, which are  
 nulla nobis: industria domi;  
 none to us [which we have not]: industry of (at) home;  
 justum imperium foris; animus liber in consulendo;  
 just government abroad; a mind free in deliberating;  
 neque obnoxius delicto, neque libidini. Pro his  
 neither subservient to crime, nor to passion. Instead-of these  
 nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam: egestatem  
 we have luxury and avarice: want

publicè, opulentiam privatim: laudamus divitias,  
publicly, opulence privately: we praise riches,

sequimur inertiam: nullum discrimen inter  
we follow sloth: (we make) no difference between

bonos et malos; ambitio possidet omnia præmia  
the good and the bad; ambition possesses all the rewards

virtutis. Neque mirum, ubi vos capitis consilium  
of virtue. Nor (is it) wonderful, when you take counsel

separatim, quisque sibi; ubi domi servitis  
separately, every one for himself; when at home you are-slaves

voluptatibus, hîc pecuniæ aut gratiæ; eò fit,  
to pleasures, here to money or to interest; therefore it is made

ut impetus fiat in vacuum  
(happens), that an attack may be made against the empty (defenceless)

republicam. Sed ego omitto hæc. Nobilis-  
republic. But I omit these (things). Most-

sumi cives conjuravere incendere patriam;  
noble citizens have conspired to burn (their) country;

arcessunt ad bellum gentem Gallorum, infestis-  
they invite to war the nation of the Gauls, most-

sumam Romano nomini; dux hostium est  
hostile to the Roman name: the leader of the enemies is

supra caput cum exercitu: Vos  
over head (is close at hand) with an army: (Do) you

etiam nunc cunctamini et dubitatis, quid faciatis  
even now hesitate and doubt, what you may do

hostibus deprehensis intra mœnia? Censeo mise-  
to enemies apprehended within the walls? I suppose you may

reamini; adolescentuli homines deliquêre per  
pity (them); the very-young men have erred through

ambitionem: atque dimittatis etiam armatos!  
ambition: and you may dismiss (them) even armed!

Næ ista mansuetudo et misericordia vertet in  
Truly that mildness and mercy will turn into

miseriam vobis, si illi ceperint arma. Scilicet,  
ruin to you, if they shall have taken arms. Forsooth,

res ipsa est aspera, sed vos timetis non  
the thing itself is harsh [dangerous], but you fear not

eam ! Immo, verò maxume ; sed expectantes, alius  
 it ! Nay, indeed very-much ; but awaiting, one  
 alium, cunctamini inertîâ et molliâ animi,  
 another, you hesitate from indolence and effeminacy of mind,  
 videlicet confisi immortalibus diis, qui sæpè servavêre  
 forsooth trusting to the immortal gods, who often have preserved  
 hanc rempublicam in maxumis periculis. Auxilia  
 this republic in the greatest dangers. The aids  
 deorum parantur non votis, neque muliebribus  
 of the gods are procured not by vows, nor womanish  
 suppliciis ; omnia cedunt prosperè vigi-  
 lationes ; all (things) yield (occur) prosperously by watch-  
 lando, agendo, consulendo benè. Implorēs  
 ing, by acting, by consulting well. Thou mayest implore  
 deos nequicquam, ubi tradideris (*perf. sub.*)  
 the gods in-vain, when thou mayest have (hast) delivered  
 te socordiæ atque ignaviæ : sunt  
 thee to heartlessness (slothfulness) and indolence : they are  
 irati que infesti. Apud nostros majores Aulus  
 angry and hostile. Among our ancestors Aulus  
 Manlius Torquatus jussit filium necari  
 Manlius Torquatus ordered (his) son to be put-to-death  
 Gallico bello, quòd is pugnaverāt in hostem  
 in the Gallic war, because he had fought against an enemy  
 contra imperium : atque ille egregius adolescens dedit  
 against order : and that excellent young-man gave  
 poenas morte immoderatæ fortitudinis.  
 (suffered) punishments by death of (for his) excessive bravery.  
 Vos-cunctamini, quid statuatis de crudelissimis  
 Do you-hesitate, what you may resolve concerning the most-cruel  
 parricidis ? Videlicet cætera vita eorum obstat  
 parricides ? Forsooth the rest (former) life of them opposes  
 huic scelerei ! Verum parcite dignitati Lentuli,  
 (excuses) to this wickedness ! But spare to the dignity of Lentulus,  
 si ipse pepercit unquam pudicitiae, si suæ famæ,  
 if he has spared ever to chastity, if to his-own character,  
 si ullis diis aut hominibus. Ignoscite adolescentiæ  
 if to any gods or to men. Pardon to the youth

Cethegi, nisi fecit jam iterum bellum  
 of Cethegus, unless he has made already again war (against his)  
 patriæ. Nam quid ego-loquar de Gabinio, Statilio,  
 country. For what shall-I-speak of Gabinus, Statilius,  
 Cæpario, quibus si quidquam pensi fuisset  
 Cæparius, to whom if any of consideration might have been  
 (*plup. sub.*) unquam, habuissent non  
 (had been) ever, they might have held not (had not held)  
 ea consilia de republicâ?  
 those counsels concerning the republic? [Who, if they ever had any

reflection, would not have entertained those designs against the republic.]

Postremò, conscripti patres, si locus esset  
 Lastly, conscript fathers, if place might be (if there were  
 peccato, mehercule, facile-paterer vos corrigi  
 room) for error, [by Hercules,] I would easily-suffer you to be corrected  
 re ipsâ, quoniam contemnitis verba. Sed  
 by the thing itself, since you despise words. But  
 sumus circumventi undique: Catilina urget  
 we are beset on-every-side: Catiline presses to (our)  
 faucibus cum exercitu: alii hostes sunt intra  
 jaws (closely) with an army: other enemies are within  
 mœnia, atque in sinu urbis. Neque potest  
 the walls, and in the bosom of the city. Neither can  
 quidquam parari neque consuli occultè: quò  
 any (thing) be prepared nor be consulted secretly: wherefore  
 est properandum magis.  
 it is to-be-hastened the more. [Wherefore speedy action is required.]

Quare ego ita censeo. Cùm respublica venerit  
 Therefore I thus determine. Since the republic may have come  
 (*perf. sub.*) in maxuma pericula nefario consilio  
 (has come) into the greatest dangers by the horrible counsels  
 sceleratorum civium; que hi convicti-sint (*perf. sub.*)  
 of wicked citizens; and these may have been convicted

indicio Titi Vulturcii, et legatorum Allo-  
 by the information of Titus Vulturcius, and of the ambassadors of the Al-  
 brogum, que confessi-sint) (*perf. sub.*) paravisse  
 lobroges, and may have confessed to have prepared

cædem, incendia, que alia foeda atque crudelia  
murder, burnings, and other abominable and cruel  
facinora in civis (cives) que patriam;  
crimes against (their) citizens and country; (that)  
supplicium sumendum, more majorum, de  
punishment be-taken, by the custom of (our) ancestors, of  
confessis, sicuti de manifestis  
(on those) having confessed, as of (those) manifest (clearly  
capitalium rerum.”  
convicted) of capital things (crimes).”

111. Postquam Cato assedit, omnes consulares,

After Cato sat-down, all the consular (men),  
que item magna pars senatûs, laudant sententiam  
and also a great part of the senate, praise the opinion  
ejus; ferunt virtutem animi ad cælum:  
of him; bear (extol) the virtue of (his) mind to heaven:  
alii increpantes vocant alios timidos: Cato habetur  
others chiding call others fearful: Cato is had  
clarus atque magnus: decretum senati  
(accounted) renowned and great: a decree of the senate  
fit, sicut ille censuerat. Sed fortè lubuit  
is made, as he had determined. But by chance it has pleased  
mihi, legenti multa, audienti multa præclara facinora,  
to me, reading many, hearing many illustrious exploits,  
quæ Romanus populus fecit domi que militiæ,  
which the Roman people has done at-home and at war

mari atque terrâ, attendere, quæ res  
(abroad), by sea and by land, to consider, what thing  
sustinisset maxumè tanta negotia. Sciebam  
might have sustained chiefly so-great affair. I did know

sæpenuerò contendisse parvâ manu cum  
(them) oftentimes to have contended with a small band with  
magnis legionibus hostium: cognoveram bella gesta  
great legions of enemies: I have known wars carried-on

parvis copiis cum opulentis regibus:  
[by them] with small forces with opulent (powerful) kings:

ad hoc sæpè toleravisse  
(add) to this [that they] often to have borne [have sustained]



violentiam fortunæ: Græcos fuisse ante  
the violence of fortune: [that] the Greeks to have been [were] before

Romanos facundiâ, Gallos gloriâ belli. Ac  
the Romans in eloquence, the Gauls in the glory of war. And

constabat mihi, agitati multa egregiam  
it was evident to me, discussing many (things), [that] the singular

virtutem paucorum civium patravisse cuncta;  
virtue of a few citizens to have performed [performed] all

que factum eo, utî paupertas  
(things); and (it was) done (came to pass) by that, that poverty

superaret (*imp. sub.*) divitias, paucitas multitudinem.  
might overcome (overcame) riches, fewness multitude.

Sed postquam civitas corrupta-est luxu atque  
But after the state was corrupted by luxury and

desidiâ, respublica sustentabat rursûs vitia  
by inactivity, the republic did support again the vices of (its)

imperatorum atque magistratuum suâ magnitudine;  
generals and magistrates from its-own greatness;

ac sicuti parente effetâ, sanè haud quisquam  
and as-if the parent (having been) worn-out, indeed not any-one

magnus virtute fuit Romæ multis tempestatibus.  
great in virtue has been at Rome for many seasons (periods).

Sed fuere meâ memoriâ duo viri, Marcus Cato  
But (there) were in my memory two men, Marcus Cato

et Caius Cæsar, ingenti virtute, diversis moribus,  
and Caius Cæsar, with (of) great virtue, with different manners,

quos quoniam res obtulerat, fuit non  
whom since the thing (the subject) has presented, it has been not

consilium præterire silentio, quin aperirem  
(my) design to pass-by in silence, but (that) I might disclose

naturam et mores utriusque, quantum possem  
the nature and manners of each, as-much-as I might be-able

ingenio. Igitur genus, ætas, eloquentia fuere propè  
by ability. Therefore extraction, age, eloquence were nearly

æqualia his; magnitudo animi par, item  
equal to these; (their) greatness of mind equal, likewise (their)

gloria, sed alia alii. Cæsar  
glory, but other (different) to the other (to each). Cæsar

habebatur                      magnus beneficiis ac munificentia;  
 was had (accounted) great by kindnesses and munificence;  
 Cato integritate vitæ. Ille                      factus clarus  
 Cato by integrity of life. He (the former) (was) made renowned  
 mansuetudine et misericordia; severitas addiderat  
 by mildness and by compassion; severity had added  
 dignitatem huic. Cæsar adeptus-est gloriam  
 dignity to this (the latter). Cæsar obtained glory  
 dando, sublevando, ignoscendo; Cato largiundo nihil.  
 by giving, by relieving, by pardoning; Cato by bestowing nothing.  
 Perfugium miseris in altero perniciēs  
 A refuge to the wretched (was) in the other (one), destruction  
 malis in altero. Facilitas illius,  
 to the bad in the other. The easiness (of access) of that (the former),  
 constantia hujus laudabatur. Postremò, Cæsar  
 the constancy of this (the latter) was praised. Finally, Cæsar  
 induxerat in animum laborare, vigilare,  
 had induced into (his) mind (had resolved) to labour, to watch,  
 intentus negotiis amicorum, negligere suâ,  
 intent to (on) the affairs of friends, to neglect his-own,  
 denegare nihil, quod esset (*imp. sub.*) dignum dono;  
 to deny nothing, which might be (was) worthy a gift;  
 exoptabat sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, novum  
 he did wish for himself great command, an army, a new  
 bellum, ubi virtus posset enitescere. At  
 war, where (his) valour might be-able to shine-forth. But  
 studium modestiæ, decoris, sed maxumè severitatis,  
 a zeal of (for) moderation, of propriety, but chiefly of strictness,  
 erat Catoni. Certabat non cum divite divitiis, neque  
 was to Cato. He did contend not with the rich in riches, neither  
 cum factioso factione; sed cum strenuo virtute,  
 with the factious in faction; but with the strenuous in virtue,  
 cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinentiâ:  
 with the modest in modesty, with the innocent in abstinence  
                                          malebat esse bonus quàm videri; ita,  
 [and purity]: he had-rather to be good than to seem (so); thus,  
 quo minùs petebat gloriam, eò magis  
 by what (how much) less he did seek glory, by that the more

adsequebatur. Postquam, uti dixi, senatus dis-  
 it did attend (him). After, as I have said, the senate de-  
 cessit in sententiam Catonis: consul ratus  
 parted into [adopted] the opinion of Cato: the consul having deemed  
 optimum factu antecapere noctem, quæ instabat,  
 (it) best to be done to anticipate the night, which did press-on  
 ne quid novaretur eo  
 lest any (thing) might be renewed (might be changed) in that  
 spatio, jubet triumviros parare, quæ  
 space [of time], orders the triumviri (sheriffs) to prepare, what  
 supplicium postulabat; ipse, præsiidiis dispositis,  
 the punishment did require; he, the guards having been arranged,  
 deducit Lentulum in carcerem; idem fit cæteris  
 leads-down Lentulus into prison; the same is done to the rest  
 per prætores. Est locus in carcere, quod  
 by the pretors. There is a place in the prison, which  
 appellatur Tullianum, depressus circiter duodecim  
 is called Tullianum, sunk about twelve  
 pedes humi, ubi ascenderis paululum  
 feet of (in) the ground, where thou shalt have ascended a little  
 ad lævam. Parietes atque camera insuper, vincta  
 to the left. Walls and a vault from-above, bound  
 lapideis fornicibus, muniunt eum undique: sed  
 by stone arches, secure it on-every-side: but  
 facies ejus est fœda atque terribilis incultu,  
 the appearance of it is filthy and terrible from dirt  
 tenebris, odore. Postquam Lentulus  
 [from neglect], darkness, [and] stench. After-that Lentulus  
 demissus in eum locum, vindices capitalium  
 (was) sent-down into that place, the avenger of capital  
 rerum, quibus præceptum-erat, fregêre  
 things (executioner), to whom it had been commanded, broke (his)  
 gulam laqueo. Ita ille patricius ex  
 throat with a rope [strangled him]. Thus that patrician of  
 clarissimâ gente Corneliorum, qui habuerat  
 the most-renowned nation (family) of the Cornelii, who had had  
 consulare imperium Romæ, invenit exitum vitæ  
 the consular authority of (at) Rome, found an end of life

dignum suis moribus que factis. Supplicium  
 worthy his manners and deeds. Punishment

sumptum-est eodem modo de Cethego, Statilio  
 was-taken in the same manner of (on) Cethegus, Statilius,

Gabinio, Cepario.

Gabinius, Ceparius.

VI.

Dum ea geruntur Romæ, Catilina  
 Whilst those (things) are carried-on at Rome, Catiline

instituit duas legiones ex omni copiâ, quam ipse  
 formed two legions out-of all the force, which he

adduxerat, et Manlius habuerat;  
 had led [had brought with him], and Manlius had had;

complet cohortes pro numero militum;  
 he fills-up the cohorts according-to (his) number of soldiers;

dein utî quisque voluntarius, aut ex sociis  
 afterwards as each volunteer, or [those] out-of the allies

venerat in castra, distribuerat æqualiter; ac  
 had come into the camp, he had distributed (them) equally; and

expleverat legiones numero hominum brevi spatio;  
 he had filled-up the legions with the number of men in a short space

cùm non-habuisset  
 (of time); when (whereas) he might not have had (he had not)

initio ampliùs duobus millibus. Sed circitèr  
 in the beginning more (than) two thousand. But about

quarta pars ex omni copiâ instructa-erat militaribus  
 a fourth part out-of all the force had been furnished with military

armis; cæteri, ut casus armaverat quemque, portabant  
 arms; the rest, as chance had armed each, did carry

sparos aut lanceas, alii præacutas sudes. Sed  
 javelins or lances, some sharp-pointed stakes. But

postquam Antonius adventabat cum exercitu, Catilina  
 after-that Antony did approach with an army, Catiline

facere iter per montes: modò  
 (began) to make (his) march through (over) the mountains: now

movere castra ad urbem, modò versùs in Galliam;  
 to move (his) camps to the city, now towards into Gaul;

non dare occasionem pugnandi hostibus.  
 not to give [he did not give an] opportunity of fighting to the enemies.

Sperabat se habiturum propediem magnas copias,  
He did hope himself about-to-have shortly great forces,

si socii patravissent incepta Romæ.  
if (his) companions might have executed (their) undertakings at Rome.

Interea, fretus opibus conjurationis, repudiabat  
Mean-time, relying to (on) the resources of the conspiracy, he did reject

servitia, cujus magnæ copiæ concurrebant  
slaveries (slaves), of which great forces (numbers) did run-together

ad eum initio; simul videri  
to him in the beginning; at-the-same-time (thinking it) to seem

alienum suis rationibus, communicâsse causam civium  
foreign to his purposes, to have shared the cause of citizens

cum fugitivis servis. Sed postquam nuncius pervenit  
with fugitive slaves. But after-that a messenger arrived

in castra, conjurationem patefactam  
into the camps, [that] the conspiracy (to be) laid-open [was dis-

Romæ; supplicium sumptum de  
covered] at Rome; [that] punishment [was] taken of (on)

Lentulo et Cethego, que cæteris, quos memoravi  
Lentulus and Cethegus, and the others, whom I have mentioned

supra; plerique, quos spes rapinarum, aut studium  
above; many, whom the hope of rapines, or zeal

novarum rerum, illexerat, dilabuntur: Catilina  
of new things (change), had allured, slip-away: Catiline

abducit reliquos, magnis itineribus per asperos  
leads-off the rest, by great marches through rugged

montis (montes), in Pistoriensem agrum, eo consilio,  
mountains, into the Pistorian land, with this design,

utî profugeret occultè per tramites in Galliam. At  
that he might escape secretly by by-ways into Gaul. But

Quintus Metellus Celer existumans Catilinam, ex  
Quintus Metellus Celer thinking Catiline, from

difficultate rerum, agitare illa  
the difficulty of things (his circumstances), to agitate (project) those

eadem, quæ diximus suprâ, præsidebat cum  
same (things), which we have said above, did preside with

tribus legionibus in Piceno agro. Igitur, ubi  
three legions in the Picene land. Therefore, when



cognovit iter ejus ex perfugis, movit  
he knew [the direction of] the march of him from deserters, he moved

castra properè, ac consedit sub radicibus ipsis  
camps hastily, and encamped under the roots themselves

montium, quâ descensus erat illi  
(at the foot) of the mountains, where a descent was to him (Catiline)

properanti in Galliam. Neque tamen Antonius aberat  
hastening into Gaul. Neither however Antony was distant

longè, utpote qui sequeretur magno exercitu  
far, as (one) who might (did) follow with a great army

expeditos in fugam  
the disencumbered (those light armed) into flight (for retreat)

æquioribus locis. Sed Catilina, postquam vidit sese  
in more-level places. But Catiline, after-that he saw himself

clausum montibus atque copiis hostium, res adversas  
enclosed by mountains and the forces of the enemies, things adverse

in urbe, neque ullam spem fugæ, neque præsidii,  
in the city, neither any hope of flight, nor of protection

ratus optimum factu  
[of succour], having deemed (it) the best [thing] to be done [he

tentare fortunam belli in tali re,  
could do] to try the fortune of war in such a thing (crisis),

statuit configere Antonio quàm-primum.  
resolved to engage to (with) Antony as-first (as soon as

Itaque concione advocatâ, habuit  
possible). Therefore an assembly having been called, he (delivered)

orationem hujuscemodi:  
a speech of this-kind:

“Ego habeo compertum, milites! verba

“I have (it) found, soldiers! [that] words [do]

non addere virtutem viris; neque exercitum  
not to add (give) valour to men; neither [is] an army

fieri strenuum ex ignavo, neque fortem  
to be made [made] vigorous from (being) indolent, nor brave

ex timido, oratione imperatoris. Quanta audacia  
from fearful, by the speech of a general. How-much courage

inest animo cujusque, naturâ aut moribus,  
is-in to the mind of every-one, by nature or by dispositions,



tanta solet patere in bello. Nequicquam  
so-much is-wont to lie-open (be displayed) in war. In-vain

hortêre, quem neque gloria neque pericula  
thou mayest exhort (him), whom neither glory nor dangers  
excitant: timor animi officit auribus. Sed ego  
excite: cowardice of mind obstructs to (his) ears. But I

advocavi vos, quò monerem pauca,  
have assembled you, in-order-that I might advise a few (things),

simul, uti aperirem causam mei consilii.  
at-the-same-time, that I might disclose the cause of my design.

Milites, scitis quantam cladem socordia atque  
Soldiers, you know how-great a defeat the slothfulness and

ignavia Lentuli attulerit ipsi que  
indolence of Lentulus may have brought (has brought) to himself and

nobis, que quo modo, dum opperior præsidia  
to us, and in what manner, whilst I am-waiting-for reinforcements

ex urbe, nequiverim (*perf. sub.*) proficisci  
out-of the city, I may have been-unable (I have been unable) to set-out

in Galliam. Verò nunc omnes intelligitis juxtà  
into Gaul. But now (you) all understand equally

mecum in quo loco nostræ res sint. Duo  
with me in what situation our things may be (are). Two

exercitus hostium, unus ab urbe, alter à Galliâ  
armies of enemies, one from the city, the other from Gaul

obstant: egestas frumenti atque aliarum rerum  
oppose (us): the want of corn and of other things

prohibet esse diutiùs in his locis, si animus  
prevents (us) to be longer in these places, if (our) mind

maxumè-ferat. Iter  
may chiefly-bear (incline). [Even if our minds incline us thereto.] A way

est aperiendum ferro, quocunque placet ire.  
is to-be-opened by the sword, wheresoever it pleases (us) to go.

Quapropter moneo vos, uti sitis forti atque parato  
Wherefore I advise you, that you may be with brave and prepared

animo, et memineritis, cùm inibitis prælium,  
mind, and will have remembered, when ye shall enter the battle,

vos portare divitias, decus, gloriam,  
you to carry (that you carry) riches, honour, glory,

præterea libertatem atque patriam, in vestris dextris.  
besides liberty and country, in your right

Si vincimus, omnia erunt tuta nobis;  
(hands). If we conquer, all (things) shall be safe to us;

commeatus abundè, municipia et coloniæ patebunt.  
provisions abundantly, municipal-towns and colonies will be open.

Sin cesserimus metu, illa eadem fient  
But-if we shall have yielded by fear, those same (things) will be made

advorsæ. Neque quisquam locus neque amicus  
adverse. Neither any place nor friend

teget, quem arma texerint non.  
will cover (protect) (him), whom arms may have covered not. [Who has

Præterea, milites, eadem  
not protected himself by his arms.] Besides, soldiers, the same

necessitudo non-impendet nobis et illis. Nos  
necessity does not-impend to (over) us and them. We

certamus pro patriâ, pro libertate, pro vitâ:  
contend for (our) country, for liberty, for life:

est supervacaneum illis pugnare pro potentiâ  
it is useless to them to fight for the power

paucorum. Quò, memores pristinæ virtutis,  
of a few. Wherefore, mindful of pristine valour,

aggredimini audaciùs. Licuit vobis  
attack (them) the more-boldly. It was lawful for you

agere ætatem in exilio cum summâ turpi-  
to act (spend your) age in exile [with] the utmost base-

tudine: nonnulli potuistis, bonis amissis,  
ness: some (of you) have been-able, (your) goods having been lost,

expectare alienas opes Romæ: quia illa  
to look-to others' wealth at Rome: because those (things)

videbantur fœda atque intoleranda viris, decre-  
did seem foul and intolerable [to men], you have re-

vistis sequi hæc. Est opus audaciâ  
solved to follow these (my interests). (There) is need of boldness,

(abl.), si vultis relinquere hæc. Nemo, nisi  
if you will to leave (to complete) these. No-one, unless

victor, mutavit bellum pace. Nam sperare  
a conqueror, has changed war with (for) peace. For to hope

salutem in fugâ, tum avertere ab hostibus, arma  
safety in flight, then to turn-away from the enemies, the arms

quîs corpus tegitur, ea est verò dementia.  
by which the body is covered, that is indeed madness.

Maximum periculum est semper iis in prælio, qui  
The greatest danger is always to those in battle, who

timent maxumè: audacia habetur pro muro.  
fear most: boldness is had (accounted) for a wall.

¶ Milites, cùm considero vos, et cùm æstumo vestra  
Soldiers, when I consider you, and when I estimate your

facta, magna spes victoriæ tenet me. Animus,  
deeds, great hope of victory possesses me. (Your) mind,

ætas, vestra virtus hortantur me: præterea neces-  
age, your valour encourage me: moreover, neces-

situdo, quæ facit etiam timidos fortis (fortes). Nam  
sity, which makes even the cowardly brave. For

angustiæ loci prohibent, ne multitudo hostium  
the defiles of the place prohibit, lest the multitude of the enemies

queat circumvenire. Quòd si fortuna inviderit  
may be-able to surround (us). But if fortune shall have envied

vestræ virtuti, cavete, ne inulti amittatis  
to your valour, beware, lest unrevengeed you may lose

animam; neu capti, trucidemini, sicuti pecora,  
life; nor taken, you may be slaughtered, as cattle,

potiùs quàm pugnantes more virorum,  
rather than fighting in the manner of men,

relinquatis cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam  
you may leave a bloody and mournful victory

hostibus."

to the enemies."

Ubi dixit hæc, commoratus paululùm,  
When he said these (words), having delayed a little,

jubet signa canere, atque deducit ordines in  
he orders the trumpets to sound, and leads-down the ranks to

æquum locum: dein, equis omnium remotis,  
a level place: then, the horses all of having been removed,

quò amplior animus esset militibus,  
in-order-that a greater mind (spirit) might be to the soldiers,

periculo exæquato, ipse pedes instruit exercitum  
the danger having been equalled, he on-foot arranges the army

pro loco atque copiis. Nam, uti planities  
according-to the situation and forces. For, as a plain

erat inter montis (montes) sinistros, et aspera rupes  
was between the mountains on-the-left, and a rugged rock

ab dexterâ, constituit octo cohortes in fronte;  
from the right, he placed eight cohorts in front;

collocat reliqua signa arctius in  
he arranges the remaining standards (divisions) more-closely in

subsidiis. Subducit ab his in primam aciem,  
reserves. He draws-out from these into the first line,

omnis (omnes) lectos, centuriones, et evocatos,  
all the chosen, the centurions, and (those) called-out

præterea quemque optumè armatum ex  
(veteran), besides every best armed (man) of

gregariis militibus: jubet Caium Manlium curare in  
the common soldiers: he orders Caius Manlius to command on

dextrâ parte, quemdam Fæsulanum in sinistrâ:  
the right part (wing), a certain Fæsulan on the left:

ipse adsistit cum libertis et colonis  
he stands with the freedmen and colonists [of Sylla's army]

propter aquilam, quam Caius Marius dicebatur habuisse  
near the eagle, which Caius Marius was said to have had

in exercitu Cimbrico bello. At ex alterâ parte  
in (his) army in the Cimbrian war. But from (on) the other side

Caius Antonius, æger pedibus, permittit exercitum  
Caius Antony, diseased in feet, commits the army

Marco Petreio, legato, quòd nequibat adesse  
to Marcus Petreius, (his) lieutenant, because he was-unable to be-present

prælio. Ille locat veteranas cohortes,  
to (at) the battle. He (Antony) places the veteran cohorts,

quas conscripserat causâ tumulti (tumultûs),  
which he had levied by cause (on account) of the tumult,

in fronte, cæterum exercitum post eas, in subsidiis.  
in the front, the rest-of the army behind those, in reserves.

Ipsè circumiens equo, nominans unumquemque,  
Himself (Petreius) going-about on horse, naming each-one,

appellat, hortatur, rogat, uti meminerint  
addresses, encourages, asks (them), that they may have remembered

se cernere contra inermes latrones,  
(to remember) themselves to contend against unarmed robbers,

pro patriâ, pro liberis, pro suis aris atque  
for [their] country, for [their] children, for their altars and

focis. Militaris homo, quod fuerat tribunus,  
hearths. (This) military man, because he had been tribune,

aut præfectus, aut legatus, aut prætor, amplius  
or prefect, or lieutenant, [or pretor,] more (than)

triginta annos cum magnâ gloriâ in exercitu, noverat  
thirty years with great glory in the army, had known

plerosque ipsos, que fortia facta eorum; accendebat  
most-of them, and the brave deeds of them; he did kindle

animos militum commemorando ea. Sed ubi,  
the spirits of the soldiers by recounting those (things). But when,

omnibus rebus exploratis, Petreius dat signum  
all things having been explored, [Petreius] gives the signal

tubâ jubet cohortes incedere paullatim.  
by trumpet, (and) orders the cohorts to advance a little.

Exercitus hostium facit idem. Postquam ventum est  
The army of the enemies does the same. After it was come

eò, unde prælium posset committi à  
(they came) there, whence the battle might be engaged-in by

ferentariis, concurrunt maximo clamore, infestis  
the light-armed, they rush with the greatest shout, with hostile

signis; omittunt pila; res geritur gladiis.  
standards; cast-aside the javelins; the affair is-carried-on with swords.

Veterani, memores pristinae virtutis,  
The veterans, mindful of (their) pristine valour, (began)

instare acriter, cominus; illi haud timidi  
to press-on vigorously, hand-to-hand; they (the others) not fearful

resistunt: certatur maxuma vi. Interea  
resist: it is contended with the greatest force. Meantime

Catilina versari cum expeditis in primâ  
Catiline (began) to be occupied with the light-armed in the first

acie: succurrere laborantibus,  
line; to relieve (to those) labouring (hard-pressed),



accersere integros pro sauciis; providere  
to summon fresh (men) instead-of the wounded; to provide for

omnia; ipse pugnare multum; sæpe  
all (things); himself to fight much; often

ferire hostem; exsequebatur simul officia  
to strike the enemy; he did discharge at-the-same-time the duties

strenui militis et boni imperatoris. Ubi  
of a vigorous soldier and of a good commander. When

Petreius videt Catilinam tendere magnâ vi,  
Petreius sees Catiline to strive with great force,

contrâ ac ratus-erat, inducit prætoriam  
otherwise than he had supposed, he leads-in the pretorian

cohortem in medios hostis (hostes), interficit  
cohort into the middle-of the enemies, kills

que eos perturbatos atque alios resistentes  
both those disordered and others resisting

alibi: deinde aggreditur cæteros utrimque  
elsewhere: afterwards he attacks the rest on-both-sides

ex lateribus. Manlius et Fæsulanus pugna-  
of the flanks. Manlius and the Fæsulan fighting

in primis cadunt.  
in the first (the van) fall. [Fell fighting among the first.]

Postquam Catilina videt copias fusas que se  
After-that Catiline saw (his) forces routed and himself

relictum cum paucis, memor generis atque suæ  
left with a few, mindful of (his) race and his

pristinæ dignitatis, incurrit in confertissimos hostes,  
ancient dignity, he rushes into the thickest enemies,

que ibi pugnans confoditur. Sed, prælio  
and there fighting is run-through. But, the battle

confecto, tum verò cerneret quanta  
having been finished, then in-truth thou mightest perceive how-great

audacia, que quanta vis animi, fuisset (*pl. sub.*)  
boldness, and how-great strength of mind, might have been (had been)

in exercitu Catilinæ. Nam quisque, animâ  
in the army of Catiline. For every-one, (his) life



amissâ, ferè tegebat corpore  
being lost, almost (for the most part) did cover with (his) body

locum, quem vivus ceperat pugnando.  
the place, which (when) alive he had taken in fighting.

Autem pauci, quos medios, prætoria cohors  
But a few, whom (being) middle, the pretorian cohort

disjecerat, conciderant paulò diversiùs,  
had dispersed, had fallen a little more-differently [more scat-

tered], sed omnes tamen adversis vulneribus.  
but all however with front wounds.

Verò Catilina repertus-est inter cadavera  
But Catiline was found among the dead-bodies of (his)

hostium longè à suis, etiam spirans paululùm,  
enemies far from his-own (men), even breathing a little,

que retinens vultu ferociam animi,  
and retaining in [his] countenance the fierceness of mind,

quam vivus habuerat. Postremò, quisquam  
which (when) alive he had had. Finally, any-one

ingenuus civis ex omni copiâ, neque captus-est  
free-born citizen of all the force, neither was taken

in prælio, neque in fugâ. Ita cuncti pepercerant  
in the battle, nor in the flight. So all had spared

suæ que vitæ hostium justà.  
to their-own and the life of enemies equally. [So little did all spare

Neque, tamen,  
either their own life, or that of the enemy.] Neither, however,

exercitus Romani populi adeptus-erat lætam  
the army of the Roman people had obtained a joyful

aut incruentam victoriam. Nam quisque strenuis-  
or bloodless victory. For each bra-

simus aut occiderat in prælio, aut  
vest (man) either had fallen [in] the engagement, or

discesserat graviter vulneratus. Autem multi,  
had departed severely wounded. But many,

qui processerant è castris gratiâ  
who had proceeded from the camps by favour (for the sake)

visundi aut spoliandi, volventes cadavera, alii  
 of going-to-see or despoiling, rolling the dead-bodies, some  
 reperiabant amicum, pars hospitem, aut cognatum.  
 did discover a friend, part a guest, or a relation.

Fuere item, qui cognoscerent (*imp. sub.*)  
 (There) were likewise (some), who might know (did recognise)

suos inimicos. Ita lætitia, mœror, luctus,  
 their-own enemies. Thus gladness, sorrow, grief,

atque gaudia variè-agitabantur per omnem  
 and joys were variously-mixed (exhibited) throughout the whole  
 exercitum.  
 army.

END OF THE CATILINARIAN WAR.

# SALLUSTII JUGURTHA.

## SALLUST'S JUGURTHA.



HUMANUM genus queritur falsò de suâ naturâ,  
 The human race complains unjustly of its-own nature,  
 quòd imbecilla atque brevis ævi,  
 because (being) weak and of short age (duration),  
 regatur (*sub.*) potiùs sorte quàm  
 it may be governed (is governed) rather by lot (chance) than  
 virtute. Nam contrà invenias  
 by virtue (native energy). For (but) on-the-contrary you may find  
 reputando, neque aliud majus, neque præ-  
 by reflecting, neither another (thing) greater, nor more-  
 stabilis; que industriam hominum desse  
 excellent; and [that the] industry of men to be-wanting  
 magis naturæ, quàm vim aut  
 more [is more wanting] to nature, than strength (efficacy) or  
 tempus. Sed animus est dux atque imperator vitæ  
 time. But the mind is the guide and governor of the life  
 mortalium, qui, ubi grassatur ad gloriam viâ  
 of mortals, which, when it advances to glory by the way  
 virtutis, est abundè pollens, que potens, et clarus,  
 of virtue, is abundantly efficient, and powerful, and illustrious,  
 neque eget fortunâ; quippe, quæ potest  
 neither wants fortune; for (as being that), which is-able  
 neque dare neque eripere probitatem, industriam,  
 neither to give nor to wrest-away honesty, industry,  
 que alias bonas artis (artes) cuiquam.  
 and other good endowments for (from) any-one.

Sin captus pravis cupidinibus, usus  
But-if (the mind) taken by depraved desires, having used

paulisper perniciosâ lubidine, pessum-datus-  
(indulged) for-a-little-time destructive passion, has been precipi-

est ad inertiam et voluptates corporis, ubi vires,  
tated to indolence and the pleasures of the body, when forces

tempus, ingenium defluxere per socordiam,  
(strength), time, ability have flowed-away by indolence,

infirmitas naturæ accusatur: quique actores  
the infirmity of nature is accused: each (of) the authors [of these

transferunt suam culpam ad negotia.  
evils] transfer their-own fault to (their) affairs.

Quòd si tanta cura bonarum rerum esset  
But if so-great a care of good things might be (were)

hominibus, quanto studio petunt  
to men, with how-much zeal they seek (things) [but if men as

aliena  
zealously sought good things, as they do those, which are] foreign

ac profutura nihil, etiam multùm periculosa,  
and about-to-profit nothing, even greatly dangerous,

neque regerentur magis, quàm regerent casus;  
neither might they be governed more, than they might govern chances

et procederent eò magnitudinis, ubi  
(events); and they might advance to that (point) of greatness, where

fierent, pro mortalibus,  
they might become, instead-of mortals [in as much as mortals are

æterni gloriâ. Nam uti genus hominum  
allowed], everlasting in glory. For as the race of men

est compositum ex corpore et animâ; ita cunctæ  
is composed of body and soul; so all (our)

res que omnia nostra studia sequuntur, alia  
things and all our pursuits follow, others (some)

naturam corporis, alia animi. Igitur  
the nature of the body, others (the nature) of the mind. Therefore

præclara facies, magnæ divitiæ, ad-hoc vis  
a fine appearance, great riches, to-this (besides) strength

corporis, et omnia alia hujusmodi, dilabuntur  
of body, and all other (things) of this-kind, glide-away

brevi; at egregia facinora ingenii sunt  
 shortly; but the illustrious acts of the understanding are  
 immortalia, sicuti anima. Postremò, uti est  
 immortal, as the soul. Finally, as (there) is  
 initium, sic finis bonorum corporis et  
 a beginning, so (is there) an end of the goods of the body and  
 fortunæ; que omnia orta, occidunt; et  
 of fortune; and all (things) having risen, fall; and  
 aucta, senescunt; animus incorruptus, æternus,  
 being increased, grow-old; the mind uncorrupted, eternal,  
 rector humani generis, agit atque habet  
 the ruler of the human race, acts and has (comprehends)

cuncta, neque ipse habetur.  
 [controls] all (things), neither itself is had (comprehended).

Quò pravitas eorum  
 [Nor is it controlled by any thing.] Wherefore the depravity of those  
 est magis admiranda, qui dediti gaudiis  
 is the more to-be-wondered-at, who addicted to the pleasures  
 corporis, agunt ætatem per luxum atque  
 of the body, act (spend their) age through luxury and  
 ignaviam: cæterum sinunt ingenium, quo  
 indolence: but allow the understanding, (than) which  
 neque est aliud melius neque amplius  
 neither is (there) another (thing) better nor more-extensive

naturâ mortaliū, torpescere incultu atque  
 in the nature of mortals, to grow-torpid from want-of-culture and  
 socordiâ; cùm præsertim tam multæ, que variæ  
 slothfulness; when especially so many, and various

artes animi sint (*sub.*), quibus summa claritudo  
 arts of the mind may be (are), by which the highest renown

paratur. Verum ex his artibus, magistratus et  
 is procured. But out-of these employments, magistrates and

imperia, postremò, omnis cura publicarum rerum,  
 authorities, finally, all care of public things,

videntur mihi minumè cupiunda hâc tempestate:  
 appear to me by-no-means to-be-desired at this time:

quoniam neque honos datur virtuti, neque illi  
 since neither honour is given to virtue, neither they

quibus jus fuit per fraudem tuti aut magis  
to whom authority has been [through fraud] (are) secure or more

honesti eò. Nam quidem regere patriam  
honourable on-that-account. For indeed to rule (one's) country

aut parentes vi, quamquam et possis,  
or parents by force, although and (even) thou mayest be-able,

et corrigas delicta, tamen est importunum, cùm  
and mayest amend faults, yet it is unpleasant, since

præsertim omnes mutationes rerum portendant (*sub.*)  
especially all changes of things may portend

cædem, fugam, que alia hostilia. Autem  
slaughter, banishment, and other hostile (things). But

niti frustrà neque quærere aliud  
to endeavour in-vain and-not to seek (acquire) another (thing)

fatigando se, nisi odium est extremæ  
by fatiguing (one's) self, unless hatred is (the part) of extreme

dementiæ: nisi fortè inhonesta et pernicioſa  
madness: unless perhaps a dishonourable and destructive

lubido tenet quem, gratificari decus atque suam  
passion possesses any-one, to deliver-up honour and his

libertatem potentiæ paucorum. Cæterum ex aliis  
liberty to the power of a few. But of other

negotiis, quæ exercentur ingenio, memoria  
[things], which are exercised by the understanding, the memory

rerum gestarum est in-primis magno usui;  
of things carried-on (history) is particularly to great advantage;

de virtute cujus, quia multi dixere,  
of the virtue (merit) of which, because many have spoken [thereof],

puto prætereundum; simul ne quis  
I think [it is] to-be-passed-by; at-the-same-time lest any (one)

existimet extollere memet per insolentiam  
may think (me) to extol myself through insolence (vanity)

laudando meum studium. Atque ego credo  
by praising my pursuit. And I believe (those)

fore, qui imponant nomen  
to be about-to-be [there will be those], who may impose the name

inertiæ meo tanto que tam utili labori, quia  
of indolence to (on) my so-great and so useful labour, because



decrevi agere ætatem procul à  
 I have resolved to act (spend) (my) age [life] at-a-distance from  
 republica; certè quibus  
 the republic (public affairs); surely (they will be by those) to whom  
 videtur maxume industria salutare plebem, et  
 it seems the greatest industry to salute the community, and  
 quærere gratiam conviviis. Qui, si reputaverint  
 to seek favour by banquets. Who, if they shall have reflected  
 et quibus temporibus adeptus-sum magistratum,  
 and (both) in what times I have obtained the magistracy,  
 et quales viri nequiverint (*perf. sub.*) assequi  
 and what-sort-of men may have been unable to attain  
 idem, et postea quæ genera hominum pervenerint  
 the same, and afterwards what kinds of men may have come  
 (*perf. sub.*) in senatum, profectò existumabunt me  
 into the senate, in-deed will think me  
 mutavisse judicium mei animi magis meritò  
 to have changed the judgment of my mind rather deservedly [for  
 quàm ignaviâ; que majus commodum  
 good reason] than from inactivity; and greater advantage  
 venturum reipublicæ et meo otio,  
 about-to-come [would result] to the republic also from my leisure (re-  
 quàm ex negotiis aliorum. Nam  
 tirement), than from the businesses (activity) of others. For  
 sæpè audiivi Quintum Maxumum, Publium Sci-  
 often I have heard Quintus Maximus (and) Publius Sci-  
 pionem, præterea præclaros viros nostræ  
 pio, besides (other) illustrious men of our  
 civitatis solitos dicere ita; animum  
 state (to have been) accustomed to speak thus; the mind  
 accendi sibi vehementissumè  
 to be inflamed to them most-violently [that the mind was greatly  
 ad virtutem, cùm intuerentur  
 excited] to virtue, when they might (did) look-on  
 imagines majorum. Scilicet non illam ceram  
 the images of (their) ancestors. Forsooth not that wax  
 neque figuram habere tantam vim in sese, sed  
 nor figure to have so-great force in themselves, but

eam flammam crescere in pectore egregiis viris  
that flame to increase in the breast to the illustrious men

memoriâ rerum gestarum, neque sedari priùs-  
by the memory of things carried-on, and-not to be allayed before-

quàm virtus adæquaverit famam atque gloriam  
that (their) virtue may have equalled the fame and glory

eorum. At contrà, quis omnium est  
of them [their ancestors]. But on-the-other-hand, who of all is

his moribus, quin contendat  
with these (the present) manners, but may contend [who is there

cum  
in our present corrupt manners, that does not rather contend] with

suis majoribus, divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate  
his ancestors, in riches and in expenses, not in honesty

neque industriâ. Etiam novi homines, qui  
nor in industry. Also new (obscure) men, who

soliti-erant antea antevenire nobilitatem per  
had been accustomed before to outstrip the nobility by

virtutem, nituntur ad imperia et honores  
virtue, strive to [obtain] commands and honours

furtim et per latrocinia potiùs quàm bonis artibus.  
by-stealth and by robberies rather than by good arts.

Proinde-quasi prætura et consulatus, atque omnia  
Just-as-if the pretorship and consulship, and all

alia hujuscemodi, sint clara et magnifica  
other (things) of-this-kind, may be (are) illustrious and magnificent

per se, ac non-habeantur perinde, ut  
by themselves, and may not-be-had (regarded) just-so, as

virtus eorum est, qui sustinent ea. Verum ego  
the virtue of those is, who sustain those (offices). But I

processi liberiùs que altiùs, dum  
have proceeded more (too) freely and more-profoundly [far], whilst

piget que tædet me morum civitatis. Nunc  
it grieves and wearies me of the morals of the state. Now

redeo ad inceptum.  
I return to (my) undertaking.

Sum scripturus bellum quod Romanus populus  
I am about to write the war which the Roman people

gessit cum Jugurthâ, rege Numidarum : primùm,  
 carried-on with Jugurtha, king of the Numidians : first,

quia fuit magnum et atrox, que variâ victoriâ;  
 because it was great and fierce, and with various victory;

dein quia primùm itum-est obviam  
 then because first it was gone against (opposition was made)

superbiæ nobilitatis. Quæ contentio permiscuit  
 to the pride of the nobility. Which contention confounded

cuncta divina et humana, que processit  
 all (things) divine and human, and proceeded

eò vecordiæ, uti bellum, atque vastitas  
 thither (to that pitch) of madness, that war, and the desolation

Italiæ, facerent finem civilibus studiis.  
 of Italy, might make (did make) an end to civil pursuits (conten-

Sed priusquam expedio initium hujusmodi  
 tions). But before-that I prepare the beginning of this-kind

rei, repetam supra pauca quò  
 of thing, I will trace-back a few (things) in-order-that

ad cognoscendum omnia sint magis  
 [to the knowing of them] all (things) may-be more

illustria que magis in aperto. Secundo  
 clear and more in open (evident). In the second

Punico bello, quo Hannibal, dux  
 Punic war, in which Hannibal, the general of the

Carthaginiensium, attriverat maxume opes Italiæ,  
 Carthaginians, had impaired most the resources of Italy,

post magnitudinem Romani nominis;  
 since the greatness [renown] of the Roman name;

Masinissa, rex Numidarum, receptus in  
 Masinissa, king of the Numidians, having been received into

amicitiam à Publio Scipione, cui postea fuit  
 friendship by Publius Scipio, to whom afterwards was

cognomen Africano ex virtute, fecerat multa  
 the surname Africanus from (his) valour, had done many

et præclara facinora militaris rei;  
 and illustrious exploits of military thing (nature);

ob quæ Romanus populus dedit dono  
 on-account-of which the Roman people gave for a present

regi quascumque urbis (urbes) et agros  
to the king whatsoever cities and lands it (they)

ceperat manu, Carthaginiensibus victis,  
had taken by hand (by force), the Carthaginians being conquered,

et Syphace capto, imperium ejus valuit  
and Syphax being taken, the power of whom [Syphax] prevailed

magnum atque latè in Africâ; igitur amicitia  
great and widely in Africa; therefore the friendship

Masinissæ permansit bona atque honesta nobis.  
of Masinissa continued good and honourable to us.

Sed finis imperii que vitæ ejus fuit  
But the end of the government and of the life of him was

idem. Dein Micipsa filius solus obtinuit regnum,  
the same. Then Micipsa [his son] alone obtained the kingdom,

Manastabale et Gulussâ fratribus absumptis  
Manastabal and Gulussa (his) brothers having been taken-off

morbo. Is genuit ex sese Atherbalem et  
by disease. He begot from himself Adherbal and

Hiempsalem, que habuit domi eodem cultu  
Hiempsal, and had of (at) home in the same cultivation

quo suos liberos, Jugurtham, filium  
in which (he had) his-own children, Jugurtha, the son of (his)

fratris Manastabalis, quem Masinissa reliquerat  
brother Manastabal, whom Masinissa had left

privatum, quòd ortus-erat ex concubinâ. Qui  
private, because he had sprung from a concubine. Who

ubi primùm adolevit, pollens viribus,  
when first he grew-up, prevailing in forces (bodily strength),

decorâ facie, sed multò maxumè validus  
with beautiful appearance, but by-much most strong

ingenio, non dedit se corrumpendum luxu  
in understanding, he gave-not himself to-be-corrupted to luxury,

(luxui), neque inertiae. Sed, uti mos illius  
nor to indolence. But, as the custom of that

gentis est, equitare, jaculari, certare cum  
nation is, to ride, to cast-the-javelin, to contend with (his)

æqualibus cursu: et cùm anteiret  
equals in the course: and when (though) he might excel (did excel)

omnes gloriâ, tamen esse carus omnibus: ad  
 all in glory, yet (he began) to be dear to all: to  
 hoc agere pleraque tempora in  
 this (besides) to spend [he spent] most [of his] times in  
 venando, primus, aut in primis, ferire  
 hunting, [was] the first, or among the first, to strike  
 leonem atque alias feras, ipse facere  
 the lion and other wild-beasts, himself to do [did]  
 plurimùm, et loqui minumùm de se. Quibus  
 the most, and to say [said] the least of himself. By which  
 rebus, tametsi Micipsa fuerat lætus initio,  
 things, although Micipsa had been joyful in the beginning,  
 existumans virtutem Jugurthæ fore gloriæ  
 thinking the virtue of Jugurtha to be about-to-be for glory  
 suo regno, tamen postquam intelligit  
 to his kingdom, yet after he understands  
 adolescentem hominem crescere magis que magis,  
 the young man to increase more and more,  
 suâ ætate exactâ, et liberis parvis,  
 his-own age being spent out, and (his) children small,  
 vehementer permotus eo negotio, volvebat multa  
 exceedingly affected by that business, he did revolve many  
 cum suo animo. Natura mortalium, avida  
 (things) with his-own mind. The nature of mortals, covetous  
 imperiî, et præceps ad cupidinem animi  
 of command, and precipitate to the desire of the mind  
 explendam, terrebat  
 to-be-satiated, [and precipitate in gratifying their desires], did affright  
 eum; præterea, opportunitas suæ ætatis que  
 him; moreover, the opportunity of his-own age and (that)  
 liberorum, quæ agit etiam mediocres viros  
 of his children, which acts (drives) even moderate men  
 transvorsos; ad hoc studia  
 oblique (in a wrong direction); to this (besides) the zeals (affections)  
 Numidarum accensa in Jugurtham, ex  
 of the Numidians kindled towards Jugurtha (did alarm him), from  
 quibus erat anxius, ne qua seditio aut  
 whom he was anxious (apprehensive), lest any sedition or



bellum oriretur, si interfecisset talem virum  
war might arise, if he might have killed such a man

dolis. Circumventus his difficultatibus, ubi  
by stratagems. Beset by these difficulties, when

videt hominem tam acceptam popularibus  
he sees a man so accepted (dear) to (his) countrymen

posse opprimi neque per vim, neque insidiis,  
to be-able to be destroyed neither by force, nor by snares,

statuit objectare eum periculis, et tentare  
he determined to expose him to dangers, and to try

fortunam eo modo, quòd Jugurtha erat promptus  
fortune in that manner, because Jugurtha was ready

manu, et appetens militaris gloriæ. Igitur  
in hand (action), and desiring of military glory. Therefore

Numantino bello, Micipsa, cùm mitteret  
in the Numantine war, Micipsa, when he might send (did send)

auxilia equitum (*pl.*) atque peditum (*pl.*) Romano  
auxiliaries of cavalry and of infantry to the Roman

populo, præfecit Numidis, quos mittebat in  
people, appointed (him) to the Numidians, whom he did send into

Hispaniam, sperans eum faciliè occasurum  
Spain, hoping him easily about-to-fall [that he would

vel ostentando virtutem, vel sævitiâ  
fall] either in displaying (his) valour, or by the cruelty

hostium; sed ea res evenit aliter ac  
of the enemies; but that thing happened otherwise and (than)

ratus-erat. Nam Jugurtha, ut erat impigro  
he had imagined. For Jugurtha, as he was with (of) an active

atque acri ingenio, ubi cognovit naturam Publii  
and sharp disposition, when he knew the nature of Publius

Scipionis, qui erat tum imperator Romanis, et  
Scipio, who was then general to the Romans, and

morem hostium, pervenerat brevì  
the manner of the enemies, had come shortly [he soon came]

in tantam claritudinem, multo labore, que multâ  
into so-great renown, by much labour, and by much

curâ, præterea, parendo modestissumè, et eundo  
care, moreover, by obeying most-modestly, and by going



sæpe obviàm periculis, uti esset  
 often toward to dangers, [to meet danger], that he might be (was)  
 vehementer carus nostris, maximo  
 exceedingly dear to our (men), to the greatest [and the greatest]  
 terrori Numantinis. Ac sanè erat et  
 terror to the Numantines. And indeed he was and (both)  
 strenuus prælio et bonus consilio, quod est in-primis  
 vigorous in battle and good in counsel, which is peculiarly  
 difficillimum; alterum quorum solet plerùmque  
 most-difficult; the one of which is-accustomed generally  
 adferre timorem ex providentiâ, alterum temeritatem  
 to produce fear from foresight, the other rashness  
 ex audaciâ. Igitur imperator agere ferè  
 from boldness. Therefore the general (began) to-do almost  
 omnis (omnes) asperas res per Jugurtham,  
 all rough [perilous] things through Jugurtha,  
 habere in amicis, amplecti eum magis  
 to have (him) among (his) friends, to embrace him more  
 que magis in-dies, quippe  
 and more daily, [to become daily more attached to him], inasmuch  
 cujus consilium neque ullum  
 as whose counsel neither any [as by his counsel no]  
 inceptum erat frustrà. Huc accedebat  
 undertaking was in-vain. Hither did approach (was added)  
 munificentia animi et solertia ingenii, quibus  
 a munificence of mind and cleverness of understanding, by which  
 rebus conjunxerat multos ex Romanis sibi  
 things he had united many out-of the Romans to him  
 familiari amicitia. Eâ tempestate fuere in nostro  
 in familiar friendship. In that time there were in our  
 exercitu complures novi atque nobiles,  
 army very-many new (obscure) and noble (men),  
 quibus divitiæ erant potiores bono  
 to whom riches were better (more desirable) (than) good  
 que honesto; factiosi, potentes domi, magis  
 and honourable (conduct); factious, powerful of (at) home, more  
 clari quàm honesti apud socios; qui  
 conspicuous than honourable among the allies; who

accendebant      non-mediocrem      animum      Jugurthæ  
 did inflame      the immoderate      mind      of Jugurtha

pollicitando,      si rex Micipsa accidisset  
 by promising (frequently), if king Micipsa might have fallen (were

fore      uti      solus      potiretur  
 dead) to be about-to-be      that (he)      alone      might enjoy

imperio (*abl.*)      Numidiæ,  
 the empire      [he alone might obtain his kingdom] of Numidia, [that]

maxumam virtutem esse      in ipso,      omnia  
 the greatest      valour      to be [was] in      himself, [that] all (things to

venalia      Romæ. Sed postquam, Numantiâ  
 be) [were] saleable      of (at) Rome. But      after,      Numantia

deletâ,      Publius Scipio      decrevit      dimittere  
 being destroyed,      Publius Scipio      resolved      to dismiss

auxilia,      ipse      reverti      domum,      adduxit      in  
 the auxiliaries,      himself      to return      home,      he led      into

Prætorium Jugurtham, donatum atque laudatum  
 the Prætorian-tent      Jugurtha, having been gifted and      praised

magnificè      pro      concione; que ibi secretò monuit  
 magnificently      before      the assembly; and [there] secretly      advised

uti      coleret      amicitiam      Romani      populi  
 (him) that he should cultivate      the friendship      of the Roman      people

potiùs publicè quàm privatim; neu      insuesceret  
 rather      publicly      than      privately; nor      should he accustom

largiri quibus;      quod      esset  
 (himself) to bribe      to any; [for] (that) which might-be [is] (the

multorum      emi      periculose à paucis.  
 property) of many      to be bought [is bought] dangerously from      a few.

Si vellet permanere in suis artibus,  
 If he might will      to continue      in his-own      arts, [if he continued

et      gloriam      et  
 to cultivate the abilities he possessed], and (both)      glory      and

regnum      venturum      ultrò      illi:  
 kingdom (to be) about-to-come [would come] spontaneously      to him:

sin      pergeret      properantiùs, ipsum  
 but-if he should proceed more (too)      hastily,      himself (to be)

casurum      præcipitem suâmet pecuniâ.  
 about-to-fall [that he would fall]      headlong by his-own      money.

Sic locutus, dimisit eum cum literis, quas  
 Thus having spoken, he dismissed him with letters (a letter), which  
 redderet Micipsæ. Sententia earum erat hæc :  
 he might deliver to Micipsa. The purport of these (it) was this :  
 virtus tui Jugurthæ Numantino bello fuit  
 the valour of thy Jugurtha in the Numantine war has been  
 longè maxuma ; quam rem certè-scio esse gaudio  
 by far the greatest ; which thing I certainly know to be for joy  
 tibi. Est carus nobis ob sua merita :  
 to thee. He is dear to us on-account-of his deserts :  
 nitemur summâ ope, ut sit idem  
 we will endeavour with the highest might, that he may be the same  
 senatui que Romano populo. Quidem gratulor  
 to the senate and to the Roman people. Indeed I congratulate  
 tibi pro nostrâ amicitîâ. En habes virum  
 to thee for (in regard to) our friendship. Lo thou hast a man  
 dignum te (*abl.*), atque suo avo Masinissâ.  
 worthy thee, and his-own grandsire Masinissa.  
 Igitur ubi rex cognovit ea, quæ  
 Therefore when the king knew those (things), which  
 acceperat famâ, esse ita ex literis  
 he had received by report, to be so from the letters (letter)  
 imperatoris, permotus cùm virtute tum gratiâ  
 of the general, affected as-well by the valour as by the favour  
 viri, flexit suum animum, et aggressus-est  
 of the man, he bent (changed) his mind, and essayed  
 vincere Jugurtham beneficiis, que statim  
 to overcome  Jugurtha by favours, and immediately  
 adoptavit eum et instituit hæredem pariter cum  
 adopted him, and appointed (him) heir equally with  
 filiis testamento. Sed ipse confectus  
 (his) sons by a will. But he being finished (spent),  
 post paucos annos, morbo, atque ætate, cùm  
 after a few years, by disease, and by age, when  
 intelligeret finem vitæ. adesse sibi,  
 he might perceive (did perceive) the end of life to be-present to him,  
 dicitur habuisse verba hujusmodi cum  
 [to be near], is said to have had words of this-kind with

Jugurthâ, coram amicis, et cognatis, que item  
Jugurtha, in-presence-of friends, and relations, and also (his)

filiis Atherbale et Hiempsale:

sons Adherbal and Hiempsal:

“Jugurtha, ego accepi te parvum, patre  
“Jugurtha, I received thee little, (thy) father

amisso, sine spe, sine opibus in  
having been lost [being dead], without hope, without resources into

meum regnum, existumans me non fore minùs  
my kingdom, thinking me not to-be-about-to-be less

carum tibi ob beneficia,  
[that I would be no less] dear to thee on-account-of (my) kindnesses,

quàm si genuissem: neque ea  
than if I might have (had) begotten (thee): neither that

res habuit me falsam. Nam  
thing has had me deceived. [Nor have I been deceived.] For

ut omittam tua alia magna et egregia, novissimum  
that I may omit thy other great and excellent (acts), very-lately

rediens Numantiâ, honoravisti que me que meum  
returning from Numantia, thou hast honoured both me and my

regnum gloriâ; que fecisti Romanos ex  
kingdom by (thy) glory; and thou hast made the Romans from

amicis amicissimos nobis tuâ virtute: nomen  
friends most-friendly to us by thy valour: the name of (our)

familiæ renovatum-est in Hispaniâ: postremò,  
family has been renewed in Spain: finally,

vicisti invidiam gloriâ, quod est  
thou hast conquered envy by glory, (a thing) which is

difficillimum inter mortalis (mortales). Nunc quoniam  
most-difficult among mortals. Now since

natura facit finem vitæ mihi, moneo que obtestor  
nature makes an end of life to me, I advise and conjure (thee)

per hanc dextram, per fidem regni, uti  
by this right (hand), by the faith of a kingdom, that

habeas hos caros, qui propinqui tibi genere,  
thou mayest have those dear, who relations to thee by kindred,

sunt fratres meo beneficio; neu malis adjungere  
are brothers by my kindness; [nor thou mayest prefer to attach

alienos quam retinere conjunctos sanguine  
(to thee) strangers than to retain (those) united by blood.

Non exercitus, neque thesauri sunt præsidia regni,  
[Not] an army, nor treasures are the defences of a kingdom,

verùm amici: pariuntur officio et fide,  
but friends: they are procured by office (service) and by faith,

quos queas neque cogere armis, neque  
whom thou mayest be-able neither to compel by arms, nor

parare auro. Autem quis amicior fratri  
to procure by gold. But who (should be) more-friendly to a brother

quàm frater? aut quem alienum invenies fidem,  
than a brother? or what stranger wilt thou find faithful,

si fueris hostis tuis?  
if thou mayest have been (hast been) an enemy to thy-own (relations)?

Equidem ego trado regnum firmum vobis, si eritis  
Indeed I deliver the kingdom strong to you, if you will be

boni, imbecillum si mali. Nam parvæ res  
good, (but) weak if bad. For small things

crescunt concordîâ, maxumæ dilabuntur discordîâ.  
increase by concord, the greatest glide-away by discord.

Cæterùm, Jugurtha, decet te ante hos, quia  
But, Jugurtha, it becomes thee before these, because

es prior ætate et sapientiâ, providere ne  
thou art superior in age and wisdom, to provide lest

quid eveniat aliter: nam in omni  
any (thing) may happen otherwise [than I wish]: for in every

certamine, qui est opulentior, etiamsi accipit  
contest, (he) who is more-opulent, although he receives

injuriam, tamen videtur facere quia plus-potest.  
an injury, yet seems to do (it) because he is-more-powerful.

Autem vos, Atherbal et Hiempsal, colite, observate  
But you, Adherbal and Hiempsal, reverence, [and] regard

hunc talem virum; imitamini virtutem, et enitimini  
this uch a man; imitate (his) valour, and endeavour

ego ne-videar sumpsisse quàm genuisse  
(that) I may not-seem (rather) to have adopted than to have begotten

meliores liberos."  
better children."



Ad ea, Jugurtha, tametsi intelligebat regem  
 To these (words), Jugurtha, although he did perceive the king  
 locutum-(esse) ficta, et ipse agitabat longè  
 to have spoken feigned (words), and he did revolve far  
 aliter animo, tamen respondit benignè pro  
 otherwise in mind, yet answered kindly according-to  
 tempore. Micipsa moritur paucis diebus post.  
 the time. Micipsa dies a few days after.  
 Postquam illi fecerant justa magnificè regio  
 After they had made the obsequies magnificently in a royal  
 more, reguli convenerunt in unum,  
 manner, the petty-princes assembled in one (place),  
 ut disceptarent inter se de cunctis rebus.  
 that they might debate among themselves about all matters.  
 Sed Hiempsal, qui erat minimus ex illis,  
 But Hiempsal, who was the least [the youngest] of them,  
 ferox naturâ, despiciens etiam antea ignobilitatem  
 fierce by nature, despising even before the mean-descent  
 Jugurthæ, quia erat impar materno genere, adsedit  
 of Jugurtha, because he was unequal by maternal kindred, sat-beside  
 Atherbalem dexterâ, ne Jugurtha foret medius  
 Adherbal on the right, lest Jugurtha might be [in the] middle  
 ex tribus, quod ducitur honori, et apud  
 of the three, which is led (esteemed) for honour, and (also) among  
 Numidas. Dein, tamen, fatigatus à  
 the Numidians. Afterwards, however, having been importuned by (his)  
 fratre, ut concederet ætati, vix transductus-est  
 brother, that he might yield to age, scarcely was brought-over  
 in alteram partem. Ibi, cùm dissererent  
 to the other part (side). There, when they might (did) discuss  
 multa de imperio administrando, Jugurtha  
 many (things) about the government to-be-administered, Jugurtha  
 jacet inter alias res oportere omnia  
 throws-out among other things to behave (that it was fit) all  
 consulta et decreta quinquennii rescindi, nam  
 the decisions and decrees of (the last) five years to be rescinded, for  
 Micipsa confectum annis per ea tempora,  
 Micipsa worn-out with years during those times,



valuisse parum animo. Tum Hiempsal  
 to have availed little in mind. [Was weak in mind.] Then Hiempsal  
 respondit idem placere sibi: nam  
 answered [that] the same to please to him [pleased him]: for  
 illum-ipsum pervenisse adoptione  
 [that he] himself (Jugurtha) to have come [had come] by adoption  
 in regnum his tribus proxumis annis.  
 into the kingdom in these three next (latest) years.  
 Quod verbum descendit altius in pectus Jugurthæ  
 Which word descended more-deeply into the breast of Jugurtha  
 quàm quisquam ratus-(erat). Itaque anxius irâ et  
 than any-one had supposed. Therefore restless by anger and  
 metu ex eo tempore, moliri, parare,  
 by fear from that time, (he began) to contrive, to prepare,  
 atque habere ea modò in animo, quibus  
 and to have those (things) only in mind, by which  
 Hiempsal caperetur per dolum. Quæ uti  
 Hiempsal might be taken through stratagem. Which as  
 procedunt tardiùs, neque ferox animus  
 they advance more (too) slowly, neither (his) fierce mind  
 lenitur, statuit perficere inceptum quovis  
 is soothed, he determined to accomplish (his) undertaking by any  
 modo. Placuerat primo conventu, quem  
 manner. It had pleased (them) in the first assembly, which  
 memoravi supra, factum-(esse) ab regulis,  
 I have related above, to have been made, by the petty-princes, [that]  
 thesauros dividi propter dissen-  
 the treasures to be divided [should be divided] on-account-of disagree-  
 sionem, que finis (fines) imperii constitui  
 ment, and the boundaries of government to be assigned [should  
 singulis. Itaque tempus decernitur ad  
 be assigned] to each. Therefore a time is decreed to (for)  
 utramque rem, sed maturiùs ad pecuniam distri-  
 each thing, but sooner to the money to-be-dis-  
 buendam.  
 tributed. [But that the money should be first distributed.]

Reguli concessere interea in loca propinqua  
 The petty-princes departed mean-time into the places near

thesauris, alius aliò (alius aliò). Sed Hiempsal  
to the treasures, one one way (another the other-way). But Hiempsal

fortè utebatur, in oppido, Thirmidâ, domo ejus,  
by-chance did use, in the town, Thirmidâ, the house of him,

qui fuerat proximus lictor Jugurthæ, semper  
who had been the nearest (chief) lictor of Jugurtha, always

carus que acceptus ei: quem ministrum  
dear and received (agreeable) to him: which servant

oblatum casu, ille onerat promissis, que impellit,  
presented by chance, he loads with promises, and impels (him),

utì eat tanquam visens suam domum: paret  
that he may go as-if visiting his house: may procure

adulterinas claves portarum, nam veræ refere-  
false keys of the gates, for the true (keys) were car-

bantur ad Hiempsalem: cæterùm seipsum venturum  
ried back to Hiempsal: but himself about-to-come

cum magnâ manu, ubi res postularet.  
with a great band, when the thing might require. [But that he

Numida

himself would come with a great force, at the proper time.] The Numidian

conficit mandata brevi; atque introducit milites  
finishes (his) commands shortly; and leads-in the soldiers

Jugurthæ noctu, utì doctus-erat. Qui postquam  
of Jugurtha by-night, as he had been instructed. Who after that

irrupère in ædes diversi  
they burst-in into the houses (house) different (here and there) (began)

quærere regem, interficere alios dormientis  
to seek the king, to kill others (some) sleeping,

(dormientes), alios occursantis (occursantes);  
others meeting (them);

scrutari abdita loca; effringere clausa: miscere  
to search the hidden places; to break-open closed (places): to mingle

omnia strepitu et tumultu: cùm interim  
all (things), with noise and tumult: when mean-time

Hiempsal reperitur occultans se tugurio ancillæ  
Hiempsal is found concealing himself in the hut of a servant

mulieris, quò profugerat initio pavidus et  
woman, whither he had fled in the beginning fearful and

ignarus loci. Numidæ referunt caput ejus,  
 ignorant of the place. The Numidians carry-back the head of him,  
 uti jussi-erat, ad Jugurtham. Cæterùm fama  
 as they had been ordered, to Jugurtha. But the report  
 tanti facinoris divulgatur brevì per omnem Africam :  
 of so-great a crime is divulged shortly through all Africa :  
 metus invadit Atherbalem, que omnis (omnes), qui  
 fear seizes Adherbal, and all, who  
 fuerant sub imperio Micipsæ. Numidæ discedunt  
 had been under the government of Micipsa. The Numidians depart  
 in duas partes : plures sequuntur Atherbalem,  
 (divide) into two factions : the more follow Adherbal,  
 sed meliores bello illum alterum. Igitur  
 but the better in war that other [Jugurtha]. Therefore  
 Jugurtha armat copias quàm maxumas potest :  
 Jugurtha arms forces as greatest he can [collects  
 adjungit urbis (urbes) partim vi, alias  
 a great force] : unites cities partly by force, others  
 voluntate suo imperio ; parat imperare omni  
 by inclination to his government ; prepares to rule all [over all]  
 Numidiæ. Atherbal, tametsi miserat legatos  
 Numidia. Adherbal, although he had sent ambassadors (to)  
 Romam, qui docerent senatum de cæde fratris,  
 Rome, who might inform the senate of the murder of (his) brother,  
 et suis fortunis ; tamen fretus multitudine militum,  
 and his-own fortunes ; yet relying on the multitude of soldiers,  
 parabat contendere armis. Sed ubi res venit ad  
 did prepare to contend with arms. But when the thing came to  
 certamen, victus profugit ex prælio in  
 a contest, being conquered he fled from battle into the [Roman]  
 provinciam, ac contendit dehinc Romam. Tum  
 province, and hastens thence (to) Rome. Then  
 Jugurtha, consiliis patratis, postquam potiebatur  
 Jugurtha, (his) designs being accomplished, after that he did possess  
 omni Numidiâ (*abl.*), reputans cum animo in otio  
 all Numidia, revolving with (his) mind in leisure  
 suum facinus, timere Romanum populum, neque  
 his crime, (began) to fear the Roman people, neither

habere spem usquam advorsùs iram ejus,  
to have hope any-where against the wrath of it (them),

nisi in avaritiâ nobilitatis, et suâ pecuniâ.  
unless in the avarice of the nobility, and in his-own money.

Itaque paucis diebus, mittit legatos Romam cum  
Therefore in a few days, he sends ambassadors (to) Rome with

multo auro que argento, quîs præcipit utî primùm  
much gold and silver, to whom he instructs that first

expleant veteres amicos muneribus, dein anquirant  
they may satisfy (his) old friends with presents, then may acquire

novos: postremò ne-cunctentur parare largiundo  
new: finally they may not-hesitate to procure by bribing

quemcumque possint. Sed ubi legati venere  
whomsoever they may be-able. But when the ambassadors came

Romam, et misere ex præcepto regis,  
(to) Rome, and sent according-to the instruction of the king,

magna munera hospitibus que aliis, auctoritas  
great presents to (his) hosts and to others, the authority

quorum pollebat in senatu eâ tempestate:  
of whom was powerful in the senate at that time:

tanta commutatio incessit ut Jugurtha  
so-great a change seized (them) that Jugurtha might (did)

veniret ex maxumâ invidiâ in gratiam et  
come from the greatest envy (odium) into the interest and

favorem nobilitatis. Pars quorum inducti spe, alii  
favour of the nobility. Part of whom induced by hope, others

præmio, nitebantur ambiundo singulos  
by reward, did endeavour by going-about (canvassing) single (members)

ex senatu, ne-consuleretur graviùs  
of the senate, (that) it might not-be-consulted more (too) severely

in eum.

against him. [That too severe measures might not be adopted against

him.] Igitur, ubi legati satis-confidunt,  
him.] Therefore, when the ambassadors are sufficiently-confident,

senatus datur utrisque constituto die. Tum  
the senate (a hearing) is given to each on an appointed day. Then

accepimus Atherbalem locutum-(esse) hoc modo:  
we have heard Adherbal to have spoken in this manner:

“Conscripti patres! meus pater Micipsa moriens  
 “Conscript fathers! my father Micipsa dying

præcepit mihi, uti existumarem tantummodo procura-  
 instructed to me, that I should think only the guardian-

tionem regni Numidiæ meam; cæterum jus et  
 ship of the kingdom of Numidia mine; but the right and

imperium esse penès vos: simul eni-  
 government to be in-the-power-of you: at-the-same-time I should en-

terer esse maximo usui Romano populo domi  
 deavour to be for greatest use to the Roman people at-home

que militiæ. Ducerem vos in locum  
 and of war (abroad). I should lead (regard) you in the place

cognatorum mihi, vos affinium: si  
 of relations to me, you of neighbours [and as neighbours]: if

fecissem ea, me habiturum  
 I might have done (had done) those (things), me about-to-have [that I

exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni  
 would have] an army, riches, fortifications of the kingdom

in vestrâ amicitia. Quæ præcepta mei patris  
 in your friendship. Which precepts of my father

cùm agitare, Jugurtha, sceleratissimus  
 when I might (did) revolve, Jugurtha, the most-wicked

homo omnium, quos terra sustinet, vestro imperio  
 man of all, whom the earth sustains, your command

contempto, expulit me nepotem Masinissæ, etiam  
 being despised, has expelled me the grandson of Masinissa, even

ab stirpe socium atque amicum Romani  
 from stem (earliest origin) an ally and friend of the Roman

populi, regno que omnibus fortunis. Atque  
 people, from my kingdom and all fortunes. And

ego, conscripti patres, quoniam eram venturus  
 I, conscript fathers, since I was about-to-come

eò miseriarum, vellem me posse  
 to that (pitch) of miseries, should will me to be-able [could have

petere auxilium à vobis potius  
 wished, that I were able] to seek aid from you rather

ob mea, quàm ob beneficia  
 on-account-of my-own [services], than on-account-of the kindnesses



meorum majorum ; ac maxumè, beneficia  
of my ancestors ; and chiefly, [that] kindnesses [favours]

deberi mihi a Romano populo, quibus  
to be due [might be due] to me by the Roman people, which

egerem non : secundùm ea, uti  
I might want not [to be requited] : next-to those, that

uterer debitis, si erant desideranda. Sed  
I might use (them as) due, if they were to-be-wanted. But

quoniam probitas ipsa est parùm tuta per se,  
since honesty self is little (not) safe by itself,

neque fuit in manu mihi, qualis  
neither was it in hand (possible) to me, (to know) what-sort

Jugurtha foret ;

Jugurtha might be [to determine what sort of person Jugurtha

confugi ad vos, conscripti patres, quibus  
might be] ; I have fled to you, conscript fathers, to whom

cogor esse oneri priusquàm usui,  
I am compelled to be for a burden before-that for advantage

quod est miserrimum mihi.  
[I have been of any use to you], which is very-wretched to me.

Cæteri reges aut victi bello, recepti-sunt in  
The rest (other) kings either conquered in war, have been received into

amicitiam à vobis, aut appetiverunt vestram societatem  
friendship by you, or have sought your alliance

in suis dubiis rebus. Nostra familia instituit  
in their doubtful affairs. Our family instituted

amicitiam cum Romano populo Carthaginiensi bello,  
friendship with the Roman people in the Carthaginian war,

quo tempore fides ejus erat magis petenda  
in which time the faith (honour) of it was more to-be-sought

quam fortuna. Conscripti patres ! nolite  
than the fortune [the advantage]. Conscript fathers ! be-unwilling

pati me progeniem quorum nepotem Masinissæ  
to suffer me the offspring of whom the grandson of Masinissa

petere auxilium à vobis frustrà. Si haberem  
to seek aid from you in-vain. If I might have (had)

nihil causæ ad-impetrandum, præter miserandam  
nothing of cause to-obtain (it), except (my) miserable



fortunam; quòd paulò antè rex potens genere,  
 fortune; that a little before a king powerful in race,

famâ, atque copiis, nunc deformatus ærumnis,  
 in fame, and in resources, now deformed by woes,

inops exspecto alienas opes: tamen  
 destitute I look to foreign (others) resources: yet

erat majestatis Romani populi prohibere  
 it was (the part) of the majesty of the Roman people to prohibit

injuriam: neque pati regnum cujusquam  
 injury: neither to suffer the kingdom of any-one

crescere per scelus. Verùm ejectus-sum  
 to increase by wickedness. But I have been cast-out

iis finibus, quos Romanus populus dedit meis  
 from those boundaries, which the Roman people gave to my

majoribus: unde pater, et meus avus unâ  
 ancestors: whence (my) father, and my grandfather together

vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginienses.  
 with-you expelled Syphax and the Carthaginians.

Conscripti patres! vestra beneficia erepta-sunt  
 Conscript fathers! your kindnesses have been torn-from

mihi, vos despecti-estis in meâ injuriâ. Eheu  
 to me, ye have been despised in my injury. Alas

miserum me! pater Micipsa, tua beneficia  
 wretched me! (whether), father Micipsa, thy favours

evasere hucine, uti is, quem tu fecisti  
 have come hither (to this), that he, whom thou hast made

parem cum tuis liberis, que participem regni,  
 equal with thy-own children, and a partner of the kingdom,

sit potissimùm extinator tuæ stirpis? Ne  
 may be chiefly the destroyer of thy stem (race)? Whether

ergo nostra familia erit nunquam quieta?  
 therefore our family shall be never tranquil?

Ne versabimur semper in sanguine, ferro  
 Whether shall we be engaged always in blood, in iron

fuga? Dum Carthaginienses fuere incolumes,  
 (sword), in flight? Whilst the Carthaginians were safe,

patiebamur omnia sæva jure. Hostis ab  
 we did suffer all cruel (things) by right. An enemy from (our)



præstitit, ut adesset vobis  
it has performed, that it might be present (was present) to you

in omnibus bellis: conscripti patres, est vestrâ  
in all wars: conscript fathers, it is in your

manu uti nos simus tuti per otium.  
hand (power) that we may be safe through leisure (in time of

peace). (My) Pater reliquit nos duos fratres:  
father left us two brothers:

ratus-est Jugurtham fore  
he supposed [that] Jugurtha to be about-to-be [would be]

conjunctum tertium nobis suis beneficiis. Alter  
allied (as) a third to us by his favours. Another

eorum necatus (est); ego  
(one) of them has been killed; [my brother was killed]; I

ipse alter vix effugi impias manus.  
myself the other scarcely have escaped his impious hands.

Quid agam? aut quò potissimum infelix  
What shall I do? or whither chiefly unhappy

accedam? Omnia præsidia generis  
shall I go-to? All the protections of (my) race

extincta-sunt: pater concessit naturæ, uti  
have been extinguished: (my) father yielded to nature, as

erat necesse; propinquus, quem minumè decuit,  
was necessary; a relation, whom by-no-means it became,

eripuit vitam fratri per scelus: alia  
snatched life to (from my) brother by wickedness: another (one)

clades oppressit alium: affines, amicos,  
calamity oppressed another (one): (my) kinsmen, friends,

meos cæteros propinquos, capti ab Jugurthâ,  
my other relations, (those) taken by Jugurtha,

pars acti-sunt in crucem pars objecti  
part have been driven (affixed) to a cross part exposed

bestiis: pauci, quibus anima relicta-est,  
to beasts: few, to whom soul (existence) has been left,

clausi in tenebris, exigunt vitam graviolem  
shut-up in darknesses, spend life more-severe (than)

morte cum mœrore et luctu. Si omnia, quæ  
death with sorrow and grief. If all (things), which

aut amisi, aut facta-sunt advorsa ex necessariis  
either I have lost, or have been made adverse from necessary

manerent incolumia; tamen si quid  
(friendly) might remain safe; yet if any (thing)

mali accidisset, ex-improviso,  
of evil might have happened (had happened) suddenly,

implorarem vos, conscripti patres, quibus decet,  
I would implore you, conscript fathers, to whom it becomes,

jus et omnis (omnes) injurias esse  
right and (that) all injuries to be [should be]

curæ, pro magnitudine imperii.  
for care, [cared for], for (considering) the greatness of (your) empire.

Verò nunc exul patriâ, domo, solus  
But now an exile from (my) country, from home, alone

atque egens omnium honestarum rerum, quos  
and needing of all honourable things, whom

accedam, aut quos appellem? ne nationes  
may I go-to, or whom may I address? whether (those) nations

an reges, omnes qui sunt infesti nostræ familiæ  
or kings, all who are hostile to our family

ob vestram amicitiam? an licet mihi adire  
on-account-of your friendship? or is-it-lawful for me to go

quoquam, ubi sint non plurima hostilia  
any-where, where there may-be not very-many hostile

monumenta meorum majorum? an potest quisquam,  
monuments of my ancestors? or can any-one,

qui aliquando fuit hostis vobis  
who sometime [at any time] has been an enemy to you

misereri nostri? Postremò, Masinissa ita  
to pity of us? [pity us?] Finally, Masinissa so

instituit nos, conscripti patres, ne-coleremus  
instructed us, [conscript fathers], (that) we should not-cultivate

quem, ne-acciperemus societates,  
[the friendship of] any one, (that) we should not-receive alliances,

ne nova fœdera, nisi Romani populi:  
not new leagues, unless (those) of the Roman people:

abundè magna præsidia fore nobis in vestrâ  
abundantly great protections to be about-to-be to us in your

amicitiâ :

friendship : [that your friendship would be an ample protection to us] :

occidendum nobis unâ, si  
to-be-fallen to (by) us [that we must fall] together, if

fortuna mutaretur huic imperio. Estis magna et  
fortune should be changed to this empire. You are great and

opulenti virtute ac diis volentibus; omnia  
opulent by valour and the gods willing; all (things)

sunt secunda et obedientia; quò licet curare  
are prosperous and obedient; wherefore it is-lawful to take-care

faciliùs injurias sociorum. Vereor tantùm  
(redress) more-easily the injuries of allies. I fear only

illud, ne privata amicitia Jugurthæ, parùm cognita,  
that, lest the private friendship of Jugurtha, little known,

agat quos transvorsos: quos ego audio  
may drive any oblique (astray): whom I hear

niti maxumâ ope, ambire, fatigare vos  
to endeavour with greatest might, to go-about, to importune you

singulos, ne-statuatis quid de  
single (individually), (that) you may not-determine any (thing) of (him)

absente, causâ incognitâ: me,  
absent, (his) cause being unknown (unheard): [that] me, [I],

cui licuerit manere in  
to whom it may have been-lawful [it was permitted] to remain in (my)

regno fingere verba, et simulare fugam.

kingdom to feign words, and to pretend flight. [Made a feigned

statement and pretended flight]. Quòd utinam videam illum,  
But O-that I may see him,

impio facinore cujus projectus-sum in has  
by the impious crime of whom I have been cast into these

miserias, simulantem hæc eadem: et  
miseries, pretending these same (things): and (that)

aliquando cura humanarum rerum oriatur aut apud  
some-time a cure of human things may arise either with

vos aut apud immortalis (immortales) deos; ut ille,  
you or with the immortal gods; that he,

qui est nunc ferox atque præclarus suis sceleribus,  
who is now fierce and conspicuous by [his] crimes,



excruciatus omnibus malis, reddet gravis (graves) poenas  
tortured by all evils, will return heavy penalties

impietatis in nostrum parentem, necis mei fratris,  
of impiety unto our parent, of [for] the murder of my brother,

que mearum miseriarum. Jam, jam, frater carissime  
and of [for] my miseries. Now, now, brother most-dear

meo animo, quamquam vita erepta-est tibi,  
to my mind, although life has been torn to (from) thee,

immature, et unde minime-decuit;  
immature [while quite young], and whence (by whom) it-least-became;

tamen puto tuum casum magis lætandum quàm  
yet I think thy lot more to-be-rejoiced-at than

dolendum. Enim amisisti non simul cum animâ  
to-be-grieved-at. For thou hast lost not together with life

regnum, sed fugam, exilium, egestatem et omnis  
a kingdom, but flight, exile, want and all

(omnes) has ærumnas, quæ premunt me: At ego  
these woes, which oppress me: But I

infelix, præcipitatus in tanta mala, pulsus ex  
unhappy, precipitated into so-great evils, driven out-of (my)

patrio regno, præbeo spectaculum humanarum rerum;  
native kingdom, afford a spectacle of human things;

incertus quid agam, ne ipse egens  
uncertain what I may do, whether myself wanting (destitute)

auxilii, persequar tuas injurias, an potestas  
of aid, shall prosecute thy wrongs, or (whether I) the power

cujus vitæ que necis pendet ex alienis opibus,  
of whose life and death depends of (on) foreign (others') resources

consulam regno.

[depends on the aid of others], may consult (provide) for the kingdom.

Utinam! emori

[May provide for the welfare of the kingdom.] O-that! to die

esset honestus exitus meis fortunis, ne-viderer  
might be an honourable issue to my fortunes, (that) I might not-seem

vivere contemptus, si defessus malis, concessissem  
to live despised, if wearied by evils, I might have yielded

injuriae. Nunc quoniam neque lubet  
(had yielded) to injury. Now since neither it pleases (me)



vivere, neque licet mori sine dedecore, conscripti  
 to live, nor is it-lawful to die without disgrace, conscript  
 patres, per vos, per liberos atque vestros parentes  
 fathers, by you, by (your) children and your parents,  
 per majestatem Romani populi, subvenite mihi  
 by the majesty of the Roman people, aid to me [me]  
 misero; ite obviam injuriæ; nolite pati  
 wretched; go toward (oppose) to injury; be-unwilling to suffer  
 regnum Numidiæ, quod est vestrum, tabescere per  
 the kingdom of Numidia, which is your-own, to waste-away by  
 scelus et sanguinem nostræ familiæ.”  
 wickedness and the blood of our family.”

Postquam rex fecit finem loquendi, legati  
 After-that the king made an end of speaking, the ambassadors

Jugurthæ, freti magis largitione quam causâ,  
 of Jugurtha, relying more on bribery than (their) cause,

respondent paucis: Hiempsalem  
 answer in few (words): Hiempsal (to have been)

interfectum ab Numidis, ob suam sævitiam;  
 killed by the Numidians, on-account-of his cruelty;

Atherbalem inferentem bellum ultro queri  
 [that] Adherbal bringing-on war spontaneously to complain

postquam superatus-sit  
 [complained] after that he may have been conquered (was conquered)

quòd nequisset facere injuriam:  
 because he might have been unable (had been unable) to do injury:

Jugurtham petere ab senatu  
 [that] Jugurtha to seek [sought] from the senate (that)

ne-putaret se alium ac cognitus-esset  
 it might not-think himself other than he might have been known

Numantiæ, neu poneret verba  
 (had been known) at Numantia, nor might place the words

inimici ante sua facta. Deinde utrique egrediuntur  
 of an enemy before his deeds. Afterwards both go-out

curiâ: senatus statim consulitur: fautores  
 from the senate-house: the senate immediately is consulted: the favourers

legatorum, præterea magna pars depravata gratiâ,  
 of the ambassadors, besides a great part corrupted by favour

nitebantur contemnere dicta Atherbalis,  
 (interest), did endeavour to despise the sayings of Adherbal,  
 extollere virtutem Jugurthæ laudibus, gratiâ, voce,  
 to extol the virtue of Jugurtha by praises, by favour, by voice,  
 denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere et  
 finally by all means for foreign (another's) wickedness and  
 flagitio,

villany [they exerted themselves to defend the wickedness and villany

quasi pro suâ gloriâ. At contra  
 of another], as-if for their-own glory. But on-the-other-hand,

pauci, quibus bonum et æquum erat carius  
 a few, to whom good and just was dearer (than)

divitiis, censebant subveniendum Atherbali,  
 riches, did think to-be-relieved to Adherbal (Adherbal

et mortem Hiempsalis severe  
 should be relieved) and the death of Hiempsal severely

vindicandam. Sed ex omnibus maxumè Æmilius  
 to-be-avenged. But out-of all chiefly Æmilius

Scaurus, nobilis homo, impiger, factiosus, avidus  
 Scaurus, a noble man, active, factious, greedy

potentiæ, honoris, divitiarum, cæterum callidè  
 of power, of honour, of riches, but cunningly

occultans sua vitia. Postquam is videt famosam  
 concealing his vices. After that he sees the infamous

que impudentem largitionem regis, veritus  
 and shameless bribery of the king, having feared

quod solet in tali re, ne polluta licentia  
 what is-usual in such a thing, lest the polluted licentiousness

accenderet invidiam, continuit  
 might inflame envy [might excite odium], he restrained (his)

animum à consuetâ lubricine. Tamen illa pars,  
 mind from [his] wonted passion. However that part

quæ anteferebant pretium aut gratiam vero,  
 [party], which did prefer reward or favour to truth,

vicit in senatu. Decretum fit, uti decem  
 conquered in the senate. A decree is made, that ten

legati dividerent regnum quod Micipsa obtinuerat,  
 ambassadors should divide the kingdom, which Micipsa had obtained,

inter Jugurtham et Atherbalem. Cujus legationis,  
 between Jugurtha and Adherbal. Of which embassy,  
 Lucius Opimius, clarus homo, et tum potens in  
 Lucius Opimius, an illustrious man, and then powerful in  
 senatu, fuit princeps; quia consul, Caio Graccho  
 the senate, was chief; because (as) consul, Caius Gracchus  
 et Marco Fulvio interfectis, exercuerat acerrumè  
 and Marcus Fulvius being killed, he had exercised very-sharply  
 vindictam nobilitatis in plebem. Jugurtha,  
 the revenge of the nobility against the common-people. Jugurtha,  
 tametsi habuerat eum in amicis Romæ, tamen  
 although he had had him among friends at Rome, yet  
 recepit curatissumè; perfecit dando  
 received (him) most-attentively; he [Jugurtha] accomplished by giving  
 et pollicendo multa, uti anteferebat  
 and by promising many (things), that he might prefer [that Opimius  
 commodum regis famæ, fide (fidei),  
 should prefer] the convenience of the king to fame, to faith (honour),  
 postremò omnibus suis rebus. Aggressus reliquos  
 lastly to all his-own things. Having attacked the remaining  
 legatos eâdem viâ, capit plerosque:  
 ambassadors [in the same manner], he takes most: [he gains most  
 fides fuit carior paucis, quàm pecunia.  
 of them]: faith (honour) was dearer to few, than money.  
 In divisione, pars Numidiæ, quæ attingit Mauritaniam,  
 In the division, the part of Numidia, which touches Mauritania,  
 opulentior agro que viris, traditur Jugurthæ.  
 more-opulent in land and in men, is delivered to Jugurtha.  
 Atherbal possedit illam alteram potiore specie  
 Adherbal possessed that other (part) better in appearance  
 quàm usu, quæ erat portuosior, et magis exornata  
 than in use, which was superior-in-harbours, and more furnished  
 ædificiis. Res videtur postulare  
 with buildings. The thing (subject) seems to require (me)  
 exponere situm Africæ paucis, et attingere  
 to explain the situation of Africa in few (words), and to touch-on  
 eas gentis (gentes) quibuscum bellum aut amicitia  
 those nations with which war or friendship

fuit vobis. Sed loca, et nationes, item  
 had been to us. But the places, and nations, also  
 solitudines, quæ frequentata-sunt minùs ob  
 deserts, which have been frequented less on-account-of  
 calorem aut asperitatem, narraverim haud facilitè  
 heat or roughness, I may have related not easily

compertum, de iis;  
 (as) discovered, of those; [I cannot easily, or with any certainty,  
 absolvam  
 relate what may have been discovered respecting them]; I will despatch  
 cætera quàm-paucissumis.  
 the rest in the fewest possible (words).

In divisione orbis terræ, plerique posuere  
 In the division of the globe of the earth, most have placed  
 Africam in tertiâ parte: pauci Asiam et  
 Africa in the third part: a few (say) Asia and  
 Europam tantummodo esse, sed Africam  
 Europe only to be, but Africa (to be contained)  
 in Europâ. Ea habet finis (fines) ab occidente,  
 in Europe. It has [for] boundaries from (on) the west,  
 fretum nostri maris et oceani: ab ortu  
 the strait of our sea and of the ocean [Gibraltar]: from the rising  
 solis declivem latitudinem,  
 of the sun (on the east) a sloping latitude, [extent in breadth],  
 quem locum incolæ appellant Catabathmon. Mare  
 which place the inhabitants call the Catabathmus. The sea  
 sævum, importuosum: ager fertilis frugum,  
 (is) rough, harbourless: the land fertile of fruits  
 bonus pecori, infœcundus arbori: penuria aquarum  
 good for cattle, unfruitful for tree: scarcity of waters  
 cœlo que terrâ:  
 from heaven and from earth: [there is a scarcity of rain and of rivers]:  
 genus hominum salubri corpore, velox,  
 the race of men with (of) wholesome body, swift,  
 patiens laborum: senectus dissolvit plerosque,  
 enduring of labours: old-age destroys most,  
 nisi qui interiere ferro, aut à bestiis:  
 unless (those) who have perished by iron (sword), or by beasts:

nam morbus haud sæpe superat quemquam. Ad  
for disease not often overcomes any-one. To

hoc plurima animalia malefici generis. Sed  
this (besides) very-many animals of a destructive kind. But

dicam quàm-paucissumis, qui mortales habuerint  
I will tell in the-fewest-possible (words), what mortals may have had

Africam initio, que qui postea  
(inhabited) Africa in the beginning, and who afterwards

accesserint, aut quo modo per-  
may have approached (were added), or in what manner they may have

mixti-sint inter se, quamquam est diversum  
been intermingled among themselves, although it is different

ab eâ famâ, quæ obtinet plerosque,  
from that report [account], which possesses most [that

tamen, ut interpretatum-est nobis ex  
generally prevails], however, as it has been interpreted to us out-of

Punicis libris, qui dicebantur regis  
the Punic books, which were said (to be those) of king

Hiempsalis; que uti cultores ejus terræ  
Hiempsal; and as the tillers [inhabitants] of that land

putant rem habere sese. Cæterùm fides  
think the thing to have itself [believe]. But the faith

ejus rei erit penès auctores.  
(credit) of that thing shall be in-the-power-of the authors. [But the

Gætuli  
truth of such narrations must rest with the authors thereof.] The Getulians

et Libyes, asperi que inculti, quîs et ferina  
and the Libyans, rough and uncultivated, to whom and (both) wild

caro et pabulum humi erat cibus, uti pecoribus,  
flesh and fodder of the ground was food, as to cattle,

habuere Africam initio. Hi regebantur  
had (inhabited) Africa in the beginning. These were ruled

neque moribus, neque lege, aut imperio cujusquam:  
neither by morals, neither by law, or command of any-one:

vagi, palantes, habebat sedes, quas  
wandering, straying, they did have the seats [the places of rest], which

nox coegerat. Sed postquam Hercules  
night had compelled (them to have). But after-that Hercules



interiit in Hispaniâ, sicut Afri putant, exercitus  
 perished in Spain, as the Africans think, the army  
 ejus compositus ex variis gentibus, duce  
 of him composed out-of various nations, (their) leader  
 amisso, ac multis passim petentibus imperium  
 being lost, and many every-where seeking command  
 quisque sibi, dilabitur brevî.  
 each for himself, glides-away shortly. [The army is soon dispersed.]

Ex eo numero Medi, Persæ, et Armenii  
 Out-of that number the Medes, the Persians, and the Armenians  
 transvecti navibus in Africam, occupavere locos  
 transported in ships into Africa, occupied the places  
 proximos nostro mari. Sed Persæ  
 nearest to our sea [the Mediterranean]. But the Persians

magis intra oceanum :  
 more within the ocean : [but the Persians settled near to the Atlantic

ocean] : que hi habuere alveos navium inversos pro  
 and these had the hulls of ships inverted for  
 tuguriis : quia neque materia erat in agris,  
 huts : because neither material was in the fields,

neque copia emundi aut mutandi ab  
 neither plenty (opportunity) of buying or of changing from

Hispanis. Magnum mare et ignara lingua  
 the Spaniards. A great sea and an unknown tongue

prohibebant commercia. Hi paulatim miscuere  
 did prohibit commerces. These by-degrees mixed

Gætulos secum per connubia ; et ipsi appellavere  
 the Getulians with-them by marriages ; and they called

semet Numidas, quia sæpe tentantes agros  
 themselves Numidians, because often trying the fields

petiverant alia, deinde alia loca. Cæterum  
 they had sought other, afterwards other (different) places. But

adhuc ædificia agrestium Numidarum, quæ illi  
 as-yet the edifices of the rustic Numidians, which they

vocant Mapalia, sunt oblonga, tecta incurvis  
 call Mapalia, are oblong, covered with curved

lateribus, quasi carinæ navium. Autem Libyes  
 sides, as-if the keels of ships. But the Libyans



accessere Medis et Armeniis.  
 acceded (added themselves to) to the Medes and to the Armenians.

Nam hi agitabant propius Africum mare;  
 For these did agitate (live) nearer the African sea;

(Gætuli magis sub sole; haud procul ab  
 (the Getulians more under the sun; not far from

ardoribus) que hi habuere oppida maturè.  
 the heats) and these (the Libyans) had towns early.

Nam divisi freto ab Hispaniâ, instituerant  
 For divided by a strait from Spain, they had resolved

mutare res inter se. Libyes corrumpere  
 to exchange things among themselves. The Libyans corrupted

nomen eorum paulatim, appellantes, barbarâ  
 the name of them by-degrees, calling (them), in barbarous

linguâ, Mauros, pro Medis. Sed res  
 tongue, Moors, instead-of Medes. But the thing (state)

Persarum adolevit brevî: ac postea Numidæ  
 of the Persians increased shortly: and afterwards the Numidians

nomine, digressi à parentibus propter  
 by name, having departed from (their) parents on-account-of (their)

multitudinem, possedere ea loca, quæ proxuma  
 multitude, possessed those places, which nearest

Carthaginem appellatur Numidia. Deinde, utrique  
 Carthage is called Numidia. Afterwards, each

freti alteris, coegere  
 [the parent state, and colony] relying on the others, compelled (their)

finitimos armis aut metu sub suum imperium;  
 neighbours by arms or by fear under their-own command;

addidere nomen que gloriam sibi: magis hi  
 they added name and glory to themselves: rather these

qui processerant ad nostrum mare: quia  
 [the colony] who had proceeded to our sea: because

Libyes minùs bellicosi quàm Gætuli: denique,  
 the Libyans (are) less warlike than the Getulians: finally,

pleraque inferior pars Africæ possessa-est ab  
 most-of the lower part of Africa was-possessioned by

Numidis: omnes victi concessere in gentem  
 the Numidians: all the conquered yielded into the nation

que nomen imperantium.

and name of (those) commanding. [Were incorporated among

Postea Phœnices, alii gratiâ  
their conquerors.] Afterwards the Phenicians, others (some) for the sake

multitudinis minuendæ domi, pars plebe  
of the multitude to-be-lessened at home, part the commonalty

solicitâtâ, cupidine imperii, et aliis  
having been solicited, from a desire of command, and others (being)

avidis novarum rerum, condidere Hipponem,  
desirous of new things, built Hippo,

Adrimetum, Leptim, que alias urbis (urbes) in  
Adrimetum, Leptis, and other cities on

maritimâ orâ: que eæ auctæ multum brevî,  
the maritime coast: and these being increased much shortly,

pars fuere præsidio que aliæ decori suis  
part were for a protection and others for an ornament to their

originibus. Nam puto melius silere de  
origins. For I think (it) better to be-silent concerning

Carthagine, quàm dicere parum, quoniam tempus  
Carthage, than to say little, since the time

monet properare aliò. Igitur Cyræne est prima,  
advises to hasten elsewhere. Therefore Cyræne is the first

colonia Theræon, secundo mari, ad  
(city), a colony of the Theræi, in favourable (along the) sea, at

Catabathmon, qui locus dividit Ægyptum ab  
(near) the Catabathmus, which place divides Egypt from

Africâ, ac deinceps duæ Syrtes, que Leptis  
Africa, and afterwards the two Syrtes (quicksands), and Leptis

inter eas: deinde aræ Philenon, quem locum  
between them: then [the] altars of the Phileni, which place

versus Ægyptum Carthaginienses habuere finem  
toward Egypt the Carthaginians had (as) the boundary

imperii: post, aliæ Punicæ urbes. Numidæ  
of (their) government: after, other Punic cities. The Numidians

tenent cætera loca usque ad Mauritaniam. Mauri  
hold the other places until to Mauritania. The Moors

sunt proxumè Hispaniam. Accepimus  
are nearest (to) Spain. We have received (heard)

Gætulos agitare super Numidiam, partim in  
the Getulians to agitate (live) above Numidia, partly in

tuguriis, alios vagos incultiùs. Æthiopas  
huts, others wandering more-uncultivatedly. The Ethiopians

esse post eos. Dein loca exusta ardoribus solis.  
to be after them. Then places parched by the heats of the sun.

Igitur Jugurthino bello, Romanus populus  
Therefore in the Jugurthine war, the Roman people

administrabat per magistratus pleraque oppida ex  
did administer by magistrates most towns of

Punicis, et finis (fines) Carthaginiensium, quos  
the Carthaginians, and the boundaries of the Carthaginians, which

habuerant novissumè: magna pars Gætulòrum,  
they had had very-newly (lately): a great part of the Getulians,

et Numidæ usque ad flumen Mulucham, erant  
and the Numidians as-far-as to the river Mulucha, were

sub Jugurthâ: Rex Bocchus, ignarus Romani  
under Jugurtha: King Bocchus, ignorant of the Roman

populi cætera præter nomen,  
people (as to) other (things) besides the name, [ignorant of the

que item cognitus  
Roman people in every thing except name], and also known

antea nobis neque bello neque pace, imperitabat  
before to us neither in war nor in peace, did command

omnibus Mauris: satis dictum de Africâ  
to all the Moors: enough has been said of Africa

et incolis ejus ad necessitudinem  
and the inhabitants of it to (for) the necessity

rei.

the thing (subject).

Postquam, regno diviso, legati

After that, the kingdom having been divided, the ambassadors

decessere Africâ, et Jugurtha videt sese adeptum-(esse)  
departed from Africa, and Jugurtha sees himself to have obtained

præmia sceleris contra timorem animi;  
the rewards of wickedness contrary-to the fear of (his) mind;

ratus quod acceperat ex amicis apud  
having supposed what he had received (heard) from (his) friends at

Numantiam, certum, omnia esse  
 Numantia, certain [that for a certainty], all (things) to be  
 venalia Romæ, et simul accensus  
 venal at Rome, and at-the-same-time having been inflamed  
 pollicitationibus illorum, quos expleverat paulò antè  
 by the promises of those, whom he had satisfied a little before  
 muneribus, intendit animum in regnum  
 with gifts, directs (his) mind into the kingdom  
 Atherbalis. Ipse acer, bellicosus: at is quem  
 of Adherbal. Himself vigorous, warlike: but he whom  
 petebat, quietus, imbellis, placidus ingenio,  
 he did seek, (was) quiet, unwarlike, placid in disposition,  
 opportunus injuriæ, metuens magis quàm metuendus.  
 suitable for injury, fearing rather than to-be-feared.  
 Igitur invadit finis (fines) ejus de-improviso cum  
 Therefore he invades the boundaries of him suddenly with  
 magnâ manu: capit multos mortalis (mortales), cum  
 a great band: takes many mortals, with  
 pecore atque aliâ prædiâ: incendit ædificia;  
 cattle and with other plunder: burns the edifices;  
 accedit pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu.  
 approaches most places hostilely with cavalry.  
 Deinde convertit cum omni multitudine in suum  
 Then he turns with all the multitude into his-own  
 regnum, existumans Atherbalem permotum dolore  
 kingdom, thinking Adherbal moved by grief  
 vindicaturum suas injurias  
 (resentment) about-to-avenge [would revenge] his wrongs  
 manu, que eam rem fore causam  
 by hand (action), and that thing to-be-about-to-be [would be] the cause  
 belli. At ille misit legatos ad Jugurtham,  
 of war. But he sent ambassadors to Jugurtha,  
 questum de injuriis, quòd neque existumabat se  
 to complain of the injuries, because neither did he think himself  
 parem armis, et fretus-erat amicitîâ Romani populi  
 equal in arms, and had relied on the friendship of the Roman people  
 magis quàm Numidis: qui tametsi retulerant  
 rather than on the Numidians: who although they had brought-back

contumeliosa dicta, tamen decrevit pati omnia  
contumelious sayings, yet he resolved to suffer all (things)

priusquàm sumere bellum: quia  
sooner-than to take war [to make war]: because (war)

tentatum antea cesserat secùs. Cupido  
tried before had resulted otherwise (untowardly). The desire

Jugurthæ neque minuebatur magis eò:  
of Jugurtha neither was lessened more on-this-account:

quippe qui invaserat jam totum regnum ejus  
inasmuch-as (one) who had invaded already the whole kingdom of him

animo. Itaque cœpit gerere bellum non ut antea,  
in mind. Therefore he began to carry-on war not as before,

cum prædatoriâ manu, sed magno exercitu comparato,  
with a plundering band, but with a great army being provided,

et apertè petere imperium totius Numidiæ.  
and openly to seek the command of the whole of Numidia.

Cæterum, quâ pergebat, vastare  
But, wheresoever he did proceed (he began), to lay-waste

urbis (urbes), agros, agere prædas,  
cities, lands, to drive-away plunders [to drive off the cattle

augere animum suis, terrorem  
and flocks], to increase mind (spirit) to his-own (men), terror

hostibus.

to the enemies. [To increase the courage of his own men, and strike

Atherbal ubi intelligit processum-  
terror to his enemies.] Adherbal when he understands to have pro-

(esse) eò, uti regnum aut esset  
ceeded [that it had come] to-this, that (his) kingdom either should be

relinquendum, aut retinendum armis, necessario  
to-be-left, or to-be-retained by arms, necessarily

parat copias, et procedit obviùs Jugurthæ.  
prepares forces, and proceeds opposite (against) to Jugurtha.

Interim exercitus utriusque consedit prope oppidum  
Meantime the army of each encamped near the town

Cirtam, haud longè à mari; et prælium non  
Cirta, not far from the sea; and the battle (was) not

inceptum, quia erat extremum diei: sed ubi  
began, because it was the extreme of the day: but when



plerumque noctis processit, lumine etiam tum  
 most of the night advanced, the light even then (being)

obsuro,

obscure [the night having nearly passed, and the day began to dawn],

Jugurthini milites, signo dato, invadunt castra  
 the Jugurthine soldiers, the signal being given, invade the camps

hostium; fugant que fundunt partim  
 of the enemies; put-to-flight and pour (rout) partly (some)

semisomnos, alios sumentes arma: Atherbal profugit  
 half-asleep, others taking arms: Adherbal escapes

cum paucis equitibus Cirtam: et ni fuisset  
 with a few horsemen (to) Cirta: and unless there might have been

multitudo togatorum, quæ prohibuit  
 (had been) a multitude of toga-wearers (Romans), which prohibited

Numidas insequentes mœnibus, bellum inter duos  
 the Numidians pursuing from the walls, the war between the two

reges foret cœptum et patratum uno die. Igitur  
 kings might be begun and finished in one day. Therefore

Jugurtha circumscedit oppidum, aggreditur expugnare  
 Jugurtha beset the town, attempts to storm (it)

vineis que turribus, et machinis omnium generum:  
 with mantlets and towers, and machines of all kinds:

maxumè festinans antecapere tempus  
 chiefly hastening to anticipate the time (of return)

legatorum, quos audiverat missos ab  
 of the ambassadors, whom he had heard (to have been) sent by

Atherbale Romam ante prælium factum.  
 Adherbal (to) Rome before the battle being done (fought).

Sed postquam senatus accepit de bello eorum,  
 But after that the senate received (heard) of the war of them,

tres adolescentes legantur in Africam, qui adeant  
 three young-men are deputed into Africa, who may go-to

ambos reges; nuncient verbis senatûs  
 both the kings; may announce (to them) in the words of the senate

que Romani populi, velle et censere eos discedere  
 and of the Roman people, to will and to think them to depart

ab armis:

from arms: [that it was their wish and determination, that they should



ita esse dignum que se que  
desist from war]: so to be worthy and (both) themselves and  
illis.

them. [This was due both to their dignity and that of the kings.]

Legati veniunt maturantes in Africam; magis  
The ambassadors come hastening into Africa; the more

eò quòd audiebatur Romæ, dum parant  
on-this-account, because it was heard at Rome, whilst they prepare

proficisci, de prælio facto, et oppugnatione  
to set-out, of the battle having been done (fought), and the siege

Cirtæ. Sed is rumor erat clemens. Oratione  
of Cirta. But that report was mild. The speech

quorum acceptâ, Jugurtha respondit, neque  
of whom being received, Jugurtha answered, neither

quidquam esse majus neque carius sibi  
any (thing) to be greater nor dearer to him (than)

auctoritate senatûs: se ita enisum-(esse) ab  
the authority of the senate: himself so to have endeavoured from

adolescentiâ ut probaretur ab quoque optumo:  
youth that he might be approved by every best (man):

placuisse Publio Scipioni,  
to have pleased [that he had made himself acceptable] to Publius Scipio,

summo viro, virtute, non malitiâ: adoptatum-esse  
the highest man, by virtue, not by malice: to have been adopted

in regnum à Micipsâ ob easdem artis (artes),  
into the kingdom by Micipsa for the same arts (endowments),

non penuriâ liberorum: cæterùm quòd fe-  
not from want of children: but by how-much he might have

cisset plura bene atque strenuè, eò  
done (had done) more (things) well and vigorously, by that

animum minùs tolerare  
(therefore) (his) mind less to endure [would less endure]

injuriam: Atherbalem insidiatum-(esse) suæ vitæ  
injury: Adherbal to have plotted for his life

dolis: quod ubi comperisset, isse obviàm  
by deceits: which when he might have found, to have gone toward

sceleri:  
(he opposed) to wickedness: [he discovered and opposed this wickedness]:

Romanum populum                      facturum neque rectè, neque  
 the Roman      people      (to be) about-to-do neither rightly, neither  
 pro      bono, si      prohibuerit      sese ab      jure  
 for [their] good, if it shall have prohibited him from the right  
 gentium: postremo,                      missurum  
 of nations:      lastly,      (to be) about-to-send [that he was about to  
     brevì legatos      Romam de omnibus rebus.  
 send] shortly ambassadors (to) Rome concerning all things.  
 Ita utrique digrediuntur.                      Copia      Atherbalis  
 Thus both                      depart.      An opportunity      of Adherbal  
 appellandi                      fuit non. Jugurtha, ubi  
 to-be-addressed (of addressing Adherbal) was not.      Jugurtha, when  
 ratus-est eos decessisse Africâ, neque posset  
 he supposed them to have departed from Africa, neither he might be-able  
 expugnare                      Cirtam armis propter  
 to storm      [neither could he storm]      Cirta with arms on-account-of  
 naturam loci, circumdat mœnia vallo atque  
 the nature of the place, he surrounds the walls with a rampart and  
 fossâ: extruit turris (turres), que firmat eas  
 trench:      raises      towers,                      and      strengthens them  
 præsiidiis: præterea                      tentare dies que noctes  
 with guards:      besides (he began) to try days and nights  
     aut per vim aut dolis: ostentare  
 [to take the place] either by violence or stratagems: to display  
 modò præmia, modo formidinem defensoribus mœnium,  
 now rewards, now terror to the defenders of the walls,  
 erigere suos ad virtutem hortando, prorsus  
 to excite his own (men) to valour by encouraging, altogether  
 intentus parare cuncta.      Atherbal ubi intelligit  
 intent to prepare all (things). Adherbal when he understands  
 omnis (omnes) suas fortunas sitas in extremo,  
 all his fortunes situate in extreme (danger),  
 hostem infestum, nullam spem auxilii, bellum non  
 the enemy hostile, no hope of assistance, the war not  
 posse trahi penuriâ necessariarum rerum;  
 to be able to be protracted from want of necessary things; [he]  
 delegit duos maxumè impigros ex iis, qui profugerant  
 chose two most active out-of those, who had fled

unâ Cirtam, confirmat eos pollicendo  
 together (to) Cirta, strengthens (prevails on) them by promising  
 multa, ac miserando suum casum, uti  
 many (things), and by bewailing his-own misfortune, that  
 pergerent noctu per munitiones hostium  
 they would proceed by night through the fortifications of the enemies  
 ad proximum mare, dein Romam. Numidæ  
 to the next sea, then (to) Rome. The Numidians  
 efficiunt jussa paucis diebus; literæ  
 execute the commands in a few days; letters (a letter)  
 Atherbalis recitatae in senatu, sententia quarum  
 of Adherbal (was) read-aloud in the senate, the purport of which  
 fuit hæc:  
 was this:

“Conscripti patres! mitto sæpè ad vos oratum  
 “Conscript fathers! I send often to you to entreat  
 non meâ culpâ, sed vis Jugurthæ subigit;  
 not by my-own fault, but the violence of Jugurtha forces (me);  
 quem tanta lubido extinguendi me invasit, uti  
 whom so-great a desire of destroying me has seized, that  
 neque habeat vos, neque immortalis (im-  
 neither he may have (he has) you, nor the immortal  
 mortales) deos in animo; malit  
 gods in (his) mind; he may have-rather (he prefers)  
 meum sanguinem quàm omnia Itaque socius  
 my blood than all (things). Therefore an ally  
 et amicus Romani populi, teneor obsessus armis  
 and friend of the Roman people, I am held besieged with arms  
 jam quintum mensem: neque beneficia mei patris  
 now the fifth month: neither the favours of my father  
 Micipsæ, neque vestra decreta auxiliantur mihi:  
 Micipsa, nor your decrees aid to me:  
 sum incertus urgear acriùs ferro,  
 I am uncertain (whether) I may be oppressed more-fiercely by iron  
 an fame. Mea fortuna dehortatur me  
 (sword), or by hunger. My fortune dissuades me  
 scribere plura de Jugurthâ: etiam expertus-sum  
 to write more concerning Jugurtha: also I have experienced

antea, parùm fidei esse miseris. Nisi tamen  
before, little of faith (credit) to be to the wretched. Unless however

intelligo illum petere suprâ quàm ego sum,  
I understand him to seek (something) above than I am,

neque sperare vestram  
[something higher than myself], neither to hope-for your

amicitiam et meum regnum simul. Occultum-est  
friendship and my kingdom together. It has been concealed

nemini utrum existumet gravius. Nam occidit  
to no-one which he may think more-serious. For he killed

meum fratrem Hiempsalem initio; dein  
my brother Hiempsal in the beginning; afterwards

expulit me patrio regno. Quæ sanè  
he expelled me from (my) paternal kingdom. What indeed

fuerint nostræ injuriæ, nihil ad vos.  
may have been (have been) our wrongs, (is) nothing to you.

Verùm nunc tenet vestrum regnum armis: tenet  
But now he possesses your kingdom by arms: he holds

clausum, atque obsidet me, quem vos posuistis  
shut (confined), and besieges me, whom you have placed

imperatorem Numidis: mea pericula declarant  
(as) a ruler to the Numidians: my dangers declare

quanti fecerit verba lega-  
of how-much (value) he may have made (has made) the words of the am-

torum. Quid est reliquum, quo possit moveri,  
bassadors. What is remaining, by which he may be-able to be moved,

nisi vestra vis? Nam ego quidem vellem et  
unless your force? For I indeed should wish and (both)

hæc, quæ scribo, et illa quæ antea  
these (words), which I write, and those (things) which before

questus-sum in senatu, forent vana  
I have complained in the senate, might be (were) vain (groundless)

potiùsquàm mea miseria faceret fidem verbis.  
rather-than my misery should make faith (credit) to (my) words.

Sed quoniam natus-sum eò, ut essem ostentui  
But since I have been born for-this, that I might be for a spectacle

scelerum Jugurthæ, jam non-deprecor mortem  
of the wickednesses of Jugurtha, now I do not-deprecate death

neque ærumnas, tantummodo imperium inimici, et  
nor miseries, but-only the command of an enemy, and

cruciatus corporis. Consulite regno  
tortures of body. Consult (provide) for the kingdom

Numidiæ quod est vestrum uti libet: eripite  
of Numidia which is your-own as it pleases (you): rescue

me ex impiis manibus, per majestatem  
me from impious hands, by (for the sake of) the majesty

imperii, per fidem amicitiae; si ulla memoria  
of the empire, by the faith of friendship; if any recollection

mei avi Masinissæ remanet apud vos."  
of my grand-sire Masinissa remains among you."

His literis recitatis, fuere

These letters (this letter) having been read-aloud, there were (some)

qui censerent exercitum mittendum  
who might think (thought) an army to-be-sent (should be sent)

in Africam, et subveniendum Atherbali  
into Africa, and to-be-relieved to Adherbal [and Atherbal re-

lied] quamprimum, uti interim  
as-soon-as-possible, that [in the mean time]

consuleretur de Jugurthâ, quoniam  
it should be deliberated concerning Jugurtha, since

non-paruisset legatis. Sed  
he might not have obeyed (had not obeyed) to the ambassadors. But

enisum summâ ope ab illis isdem  
(it was) endeavoured with the utmost might by those same

fautoribus regis, tale decretum ne-fieret.  
favourers of the king, (that) such a decree might not-be-made.

Ita publicum bonum, ut solet plerisque negotiis,  
Thus the public good, as is usual in most affairs, (was)

devictum privatâ gratiâ. Tamen nobiles majores  
overcome by private interest. However noble (men) greater

natu usu amplis honoribus,  
by birth (elder) having used ample honours, [having enjoyed the

legantur in Africam: in  
highest honours of the state], are deputed into Africa: among

quibus fuit Marcus Scaurus, de quo memoravimus  
whom was Marcus Scaurus, of whom we have recorded



suprà, consularis et tum princeps senati. Hi,  
above, a consular (man) and then chief of the senate. These,

quòd res erat in invidiâ et simul  
because the thing was in envy (odium), and at-the-same-time

obsecrati à Numidis, ascendère  
having been besought by the Numidians, embarked [on board]

navim triduo, dein brevì adpulsi Uticam,  
a ship in-three-days, then shortly being carried (to) Utica,

mittunt literas ad Jugurtham, accedat  
send letters (a letter) to Jugurtha, (that) he may repair

quam-ocissumè ad provinciam; se  
(to repair) as quickly as possible to the province; themselves

missos (esse) ad eum ab senatu. Ille, ubi  
to have been sent to him by the senate. He, when

accepit, claros homines, auctoritatem  
he received (intelligence), [that] illustrious men, the authority

quorum audiverat pollere Romæ, venisse  
of whom he had heard to prevail at Rome, to have come [had come]

contra suum inceptum, primò commotus metu,  
against his undertaking, at-first moved by fear,

atque lubidine, agitabatur divorsus.  
and by passion, was agitated different (in different ways).

Timebat iram senatûs, ni paruisset  
He did fear the anger of the senate, unless he might have obeyed

legatis: porro animus, cæcus  
(had obeyed) to the ambassadors: moreover (his) mind, blind

cupidine, rapiebat ad inceptum scelus.  
with desire, did hurry (him) to the undertaken wickedness.

Tamen pravum consilium vicit in avido  
However the depraved design conquered in (his) covetous

ingenio. Igitur, exercitu circumdato,  
(ambitious) disposition. Therefore, the army having been placed-around,

nititur summâ vi irrumpere Cirtam,  
he endeavours with the utmost force to break-into Cirta,

maxumè sperans sese inventurum casum victoriæ  
chiefly hoping himself about-to-find a chance of victory

aut vi aut dolis, manu hostium  
either by force or by stratagems, the band [the forces] of the enemies



diductâ. Ubi quod procedit secus,  
 having been separated. When which (attempt) proceeds otherwise,  
 neque potest efficere quod intenderat, uti potiretur  
 neither can-he effect what he had designed, that he might possess  
 Atherbalis priusquàm conveniret legatos; venit  
 of Adherbal before-that he might meet the ambassadors; he came  
 cum paucis equitibus in provinciam, ne morando  
 with (a) few horsemen into the province, lest by delaying  
 ampliùs, incenderet Scaurum, quem metuebat  
 more (longer), he might incense Scaurus, whom he did fear  
 plurimùm. Ac tametsi graves minæ nunciabantur  
 very-much. And although heavy threats were announced  
 verbis senatûs, quòd non-desisteret ab  
 in the words of the senate, because he would not-desist from  
 oppugnatione, tamen multâ oratione consumptâ,  
 the siege, yet much speech being wasted,  
 legati discessere frustra. Postquam ea  
 the ambassadors departed in-vain. After that those (things)  
 audita-sunt Cirtæ, Italici, virtute quorum mœnia  
 were heard at Cirta, the Italians, by the valour of whom the walls  
 defensabantur, confisi, deditione fectâ, sese  
 were defended, having trusted, a surrender being made, themselves  
 fore inviolatos propter magnitudinem  
 to be about-to-be [would be] uninjured on-account-of the greatness  
 Romani populi, suadent Atherbali, uti tradat  
 of the Roman people, persuade to Adherbal, that he may deliver  
 que se et oppidum Jugurthæ, tantùm paciscatur  
 both himself and the town to Jugurtha, only may bargain  
 vitam ab eò; de cæteris  
 [and only bargain] for life from him; concerning the others  
 fore curæ senatui.  
 to be-about-to-be for a care to the senate. [That the senate would care  
 At ille, tametsi rebatur omnia  
 for the rest.] But he, although he did suppose all (things)  
 potiora fide Jugurthæ, tamen quia potestas  
 preferable (than) the faith of Jugurtha, however because the power  
 cogendi erat penès eosdem, si adversaretur,  
 of compelling (him) was in-the-power-of the same, if he should oppose,

fecit deditionem ita, uti Italici censuerant. Igitur  
made a surrender so, as the Italians had resolved. Therefore

Jugurtha in primis necat Atherbalem  
Jugurtha in (among) the first puts-to-death Adherbal

excruciatum: deinde interfecit omnes Numidas  
having been tortured: afterwards he killed all the Numidian

puberes, atque negotiatores promiscuè, uti quisque  
youths, and merchants promiscuously, as each

fuerat obvis armatis. Quod postquam  
had been opposite (met) to the armed (men). Which after that

cognitum-est Romæ, et res cœpta (est) agitari  
it was known at Rome, and the thing was begun to be agitated

in senatu; illi iidem ministri regis leniebant  
in the senate; those same servants of the king did mitigate

atrocitatem facti interpellando, ac sæpè gratiâ,  
the atrocity of the deed by interrupting, and often by interest,

interdum trahendo tempus jurgii. Ac ni  
sometimes by protracting the time in contentions. And unless

Caius Memmius, tribunus designatus plebis, acer  
Caius Memmius, tribune elect of the people, an acute

vir, et infestus potentiæ nobilitatis, edocuisset  
man, and hostile to the power of the nobility, might have instructed

Romanum populum, id agi,  
(had instructed) the Roman people, that to be acted, [that it was

uti scelus Jugurthæ condonaretur  
in agitation,] that the wickedness of Jugurtha might be pardoned

per paucos factiosos, profectò omnis  
through (a) few factious (persons), in-deed all

invidia dilapsa-foret consultationibus  
the envy (odium) would have passed-away by the deliberations

prolatandis. Tanta erat  
to-be-deferred (by deferring the deliberations). So-great was

vis gratiæ, atque pecuniæ regis. Sed ubi  
the force of the interest, and of the money of the king. But when

senatus, conscientiâ delicti, timet populum,  
the senate, from a consciousness of crime, fears the people,

provinciæ Numidia atque Italia decretæ (sunt)  
the provinces Numidia and Italy were decreed

futuris consulibus Sempronîa lege: Publius  
to the future consuls by the Sempronian law: Publius

Scipio Nasica, Lucius Bestia Calpurnius declarati (sunt)  
Scipio Nasica, Lucius Bestia Calpurnius were declared

consules: Numidia obvenit Calpurnio, Italia  
consuls: Numidia came-by-lot to Calpurnius, Italy

Scipioni. Dein exercitus scribitur, qui  
to Scipio. Afterwards an army is written (levied), which

portaretur in Africam: stipendium, que alia,  
should be carried into Africa: pay, and other

quæ forent usui bello, decernuntur. At  
(things), which might be for use in war, are decreed. But

Jugurtha, nuncio accepto contra spem, quippe  
Jugurtha, a message being received against hope, forsooth

cui hæserat in animo omnia  
(one) to whom it had settled in mind (who thought) all (things)

venire Romæ; mittit filium et duos familiares  
to be-venal at Rome; sends (his) son and two intimate

cum eo legatos ad senatum; que  
(friends) with him (as) ambassadors to the senate; and

præcipit iis uti illis, quos miserat, Hiempsale  
directs to these as to those, whom he had sent, Hiempsal

interfecto, aggrediantur  
having been killed, (that) may attempt [that they should attempt]

omnis (omnes) mortalis (mortales) pecuniâ:  
(to bribe) all mortals with money:

qui postquam adventabant Romam, senatus  
who after that they did approach (to) Rome, the senate

consultus-est à Bestiâ, ne placeret  
was consulted by Bestia, whether it might please (them)

legatos Jugurthæ recipi mœnibus;  
the ambassadors of Jugurtha to be received in the walls (the city);

que ii decrevere, ut decederent Italiâ in  
and these decreed, that they should depart from Italy in

proximis decem diebus, ni venissent  
the next ten days, unless they might have come (had come)

deditum regnum que ipsum. Consul  
to surrender the kingdom and [and the king] himself. The consul

jubet nunciari Numidis ex decreto  
orders (it) to be told to the Numidians according-to the decree

senatûs. Ita illi discedunt domum, rebus  
of the senate. Thus they depart home, (their) affairs

infectis. Interim Calpurnius, exercitu  
being unaccomplished. Mean-time Calpurnius, an army

parato, legat sibi  
being prepared, deputed to himself [selects for himself lieutenants]

nobiles homines factiosos, auctoritate quorum  
noble men factious, by the authority of whom

sperabat, quæ deliquisset fore  
he did hope, what he might have transgressed to be about-to be [would

munita, in quîs fuit Scaurus, de naturâ et  
be] protected, amongst whom was Scaurus, of the nature and

habitu cujus memoravimus suprâ. Nam multæ  
disposition of whom we have recorded above. For many

que bonæ artes animi et corporis erant in  
and. good arts (qualities) of mind and of body were in

nostro consule; omnis (omnes) quas avaritia  
our consul; all which avarice

præpediebat. Patiens laborum, acri ingenio,  
did hinder. Patient of labours, with (of) a sharp disposition,

satis providens, haud ignarus belli, firmissimus  
sufficiently provident, not ignorant of war, most-firm

contra pericula et insidias. Sed legiones  
against dangers and snares. But the legions

transvectæ (sunt) per Italiam Rhegium, atque  
were conveyed through Italy (to) Rhegium, and

inde Siciliam, porro ex Siciliâ in Africam.  
thence (to) Sicily, moreover from Sicily into Africa.

Igitur Calpurnius, commeatibus paratis initio,  
Therefore Calpurnius, provisions being prepared in the beginning,

acriter ingressus-est Numidiam; que cepit multos  
vigorously entered Numidia; and took many

mortalis (mortales), et aliquot urbis (urbes) pugnando.  
men, and some cities by fighting.

Sed ubi Jugurtha cœpit tentare pecuniâ  
But when Jugurtha began to try (tempt him) with money

per legatos, que ostendere asperitatem  
 through ambassadors, and to show the roughness (difficulty)  
 belli, quod administrabat, animus, æger avaritiâ,  
 of the war, which he did manage, (his) mind, sick with avarice,  
 conversus-est facilè. Cæterùm Scaurus assumitur  
 was changed easily. But Scaurus is chosen (as)  
 socius et administer omnium consiliorum; qui  
 an associate and manager of all (his) designs; who  
 tametsi impugnaverat regem acerrumè à principio,  
 although he had opposed the king most-sharply from the beginning,  
 plerisque ex factione ejus corruptis,  
 most of the faction of him [of his party] being corrupted,  
 tamen abstractus-est à bono que honesto in  
 yet he was drawn-away from good and honourable into  
 pravam magnitudine pecuniæ. Sed Jugurtha primùm  
 depraved by the greatness of the money. But Jugurtha at-first  
 redimebat tantummodo moram belli, existumans sese  
 did purchase only a delay of war, thinking himself  
 effecturum aliquid interim Romæ pretio,  
 about-to-effect some (thing) in-the-mean-time at Rome by price  
 aut gratiâ; verò posteaquàm accepit  
 (bribery), or by interest; but after-that he received (heard)  
 Scaurum participem negotii, adductus in maxumam  
 Scaurus partaker of the business, led into the greatest  
 spem pacis recuperandæ,  
 hope of peace to-be-recovered (of recovering peace),  
 statuit præsens agere cum eis  
 he resolved present (personally) to act (treat) with them  
 de omnibus pactionibus. Cæterùm  
 about all agreements. [About a treaty.] But  
 interea, causâ fidei, Sextius mittitur à  
 mean-time, for the sake of faith, Sextius is sent by  
 consule quæstor in Vaccam, oppidum Jugurthæ;  
 by the consul (as) questor into Vacca, a town of Jugurtha;  
 species cujus rei erat acceptio frumenti, quod  
 the pretence of which thing was the receiving of corn, which  
 Calpurnius palam imperaverat legatis, quoniam  
 Calpurnius openly had ordered to the ambassadors, since



induciæ agitabantur morâ deditionis.  
truces were agitated (continued) by the delay of surrender.

Igitur rex venit in castra (*pl.*) uti constituerat :  
Therefore the king came into the camp, as he had resolved :

ac locutus pauca, consilio præsentî,  
and having spoken a few (words), the council (being) present,

de invidiâ sui facti, atque ut acciperetur  
of the envy (odium) of his deed, and that he might be received

in deditionem, transegit reliqua secreta cum  
into surrender, transacted the remaining (things) secret with

Bestiâ et Scauro : dein accipitur in deditionem  
Bestia and Scaurus : then he is received into surrender

postero die, sententiis exquisitis quasi  
on the following day, the opinions being sought (taken) [as-if]

per-saturam. Sed uti imperatum-erat pro consilio,  
indiscriminately. But as it had been commanded before the council,

triginta elephanti, pecus, atque multi equi, cum  
thirty elephants, cattle, and many horses, with

non parvo pondere argenti traduntur quæstori.  
not a small weight of silver are delivered to the questor.

Calpurnius proficiscitur Romam ad magistratus  
Calpurnius sets-out (to) Rome to magistrates

rogandos.

to-be-asked (to elect magistrates). [To preside at the election of magis

trates.] Pax agitabatur in Numidiâ et nostro  
Peace was agitated (enjoyed) in Numidia and in our

exercitu. Postquam fama divulgavit res gestas  
army. After that fame divulged the things carried-on

in Africâ, que quo modo actæ-forent,  
in Africa, and in what manner they might have been done (had been

agitari de facto consulis  
done), (it began) to be discussed concerning the deed of the consul

Romæ per omnis (omnes) locos et conventus.  
at Rome through all places and assemblies.

Gravis invidia apud plebem : patres erant  
Heavy envy (odium) among the commonalty : the fathers were

soliciti ; parûum-constabat ne probarent tantum  
anxious ; it was not-evident whether they should approve so-great



flagitium, an subverterent decretum consulis. Ac  
villany, or should overthrow the decree of the consul. And

potentia Scauri, quòd is ferebatur auctor et socius  
the power of Scaurus, because he was reported the adviser and associate

Bestiæ, maxumè impediēbat eos à vero que honesto.  
of Bestia, chiefly did prevent them from true and honourable

At Caius Memmius, de libertate cujus  
(conduct). But Caius Memmius, of the freedom of whose

ingenii, et odio potentiæ nobilitatis diximus suprà,  
disposition, and hatred of the power of the nobility we have said above,

inter dubitationem et moras senatûs hortari  
(began) amid the hesitation and delays of the senate to encourage

populum concionibus ad-vindicandum :  
the people in assemblies to vindicate (punish such conduct) :

monere ne-desererent rempublicam, ne suam  
to advise they would not-forsake the republic, not their-own

libertatem : ostendere multa superba, crudelia facinora  
liberty : to point-out many proud, cruel crimes

nobilitatis : prorsus intentus, accendebat animum  
of the nobility : altogether intent, he did inflame the mind (spirit)

plebis omni modo. Sed quoniam facundia  
of the commonalty in every manner. But since the eloquence

Memmii fuit clara que pollens Romæ eâ  
of Memmius was illustrious and powerful at Rome at that

tempestate, existumavi decere perscribere unam  
time, I have thought (it) to be-fit to transcribe one

orationem ejus ex tam multis ; ac dicam potissimum  
speech of him out-of so many ; and I will say chiefly

ea quæ disseruit in concione post reditum  
those (words) which he discussed in the assembly after the return

Bestiæ, verbis hujusmodi :  
of Bestia, in words of this-kind :

“ Multa dehortantur me à vobis,  
“ Many (things) dissuade me from (addressing) you,

ni studium reipublicæ superet omnia ; opes  
unless (my) zeal for the republic may surmount all ; the resources

factionis, vestra patientia, nullum jus ; ac maxumè,  
of a faction, your-own patience, no right ; and chiefly,

quòd est plus periculi quam honoris innocentiae.  
because (there) is more of danger than of honour to innocence

Nam quidem piget dicere illa,  
(integrity). For indeed it grieves (me) to say those (things),

quàm fueritis his XV (quindecim)  
how you may have been (ye have been) in these fifteen

annis ludibrio superbiæ paucorum: quàm foedè que  
years for a sport to the pride of a few: how disgracefully and

quam inulti vestri defensores perierint;  
how unrevenge'd your defenders may have perished (have pe-

utì animus sit vobis corruptus  
rished); that the mind may be to you (your mind is) corrupted

vobis ab ignaviâ atque socordiâ: qui exsurgitis ne  
for you by indolence and slothfulness: who rise [not]

quidem nunc, inimicis obnoxiiis,  
even now, (your) enemies (being) obnoxious, [being in

atque etiam nunc  
your power, on account of their corruption], and even now

timetis eos, quibus decet vos esse terrori. Sed  
fear them, to whom it becomes you to be for a terror. But

quamquam hæc sunt talia, tamen animus  
although these (things) are such, yet (my) mind

subigit ire obviàm potentiæ factionis.  
forces (me) to go toward (to oppose) to the power of a faction.

Certè ego experiar libertatem quæ tradita-est mihi  
Surely I will try-for the liberty which has been delivered to me

à meo parente; verùm situm-est in vestrâ manu,  
from my parent; but it is placed in your hand,

Quirites! faciam id frustra,  
[in your power], O Romans! (whether) I may do that in-vain,

an ob rem. Neque ego hortor  
or on-account-of the thing (effectually). Neither [do] I exhort

vos quod vestri majores fecere sæpe, utì eatis  
you (to think) which your ancestors have done often, that you may go

armati contra injurias. Est nihil opus  
armed against injuries. There is nothing (no) need with (of)

vi, nihil secessione. Est necesse ipsi  
force, nothing with (of) secession. It is necessary (that) they

eant præcípites suomet more. Tiberio Graccho  
 may go headlong in their-own manner. Tiberius Gracchus

occiso, quem aiebant parare regnum, graves  
 being slain, whom they did say to prepare (aim at) kingdom, heavy

quæstiones habitæ-sunt in Romanam plebem.  
 inquisitions were held against the Roman commonalty.

Multi mortales necati-sunt in carcere, post cædem  
 Many men have been put-to-death in prison, after the slaughter

Caii Gracchi, et Marci Fulvii, item vestri ordinis.  
 of Caius Gracchus, and of Marcus Fulvius, also of your order.

Non lex, sed lubido eorum fecit finem utriusque  
 Not law, but the caprice of them has made an end of each

cladis. Sed sanè fuerit paratio regni,  
 slaughter. But indeed it may have been a procuring of kingdom,

restituere sua jura plebi. Quidquid  
 to restore their-own rights to the commonalty. Whatsoever

nequitur ulcisci sine sanguine civium,  
 is-unable (they are-unable) to avenge without the blood of citizens,

[let whatever could not have been punished, without shedding the blood

factum-sit jure. Taciti indignabamini  
 of citizens], may have been done by right. Silent you were-indignant

ærarium expilari  
 the treasury to be plundered [at the plundering of the treasury]

superioribus annis; reges et liberos populos  
 in former years; [that] kings and free people

pendere vectigal paucis nobilibus; et summam  
 to pay [pay] tribute to a few nobles; and the highest

gloriam et maxumas divitias esse penès  
 glory and the greatest riches to be in-the-power-of

eosdem: tamen habuere parùm susce-  
 the same: yet they have had (accounted it) little to have under-

pisse hæc talia facinora impunè: itaque postremò,  
 taken these such crimes with impunity: therefore lastly,

leges, vestra majestas, omnia divina et humana,  
 the laws, your majesty, all divine and human (things),

tradita-sunt hostibus. Neque pudet aut poenitet  
 have been delivered to enemies. Neither does it shame or grieve

eos qui fecere ea: sed incedunt magnificè  
those who have done those (things): but they strut pompously

per vestra ora, ostentantes sacerdotia, et  
through (before) your faces, displaying priesthoods, and

consulatus, pars suos triumphos: perinde-quasi  
consulates, part their-own triumphs: just-as-if

habeant ea honori, non prædæ. Servi  
they may have these for honour, not for plunder. Slaves

parati ære, perferunt non injusta imperia  
procured by brass (money), bear not the unjust commands

dominorum: Quirites, nati imperio, vos-toleratis  
of masters: Romans, born for command, do you-endure

servitutem æquo animo? At qui sunt hi  
slavery with even mind [calmly]? But who are those

qui occupavere rempublicam? Sceleratissimi homines,  
who have seized the republic? The most-wicked men,

cruentis manibus, immani avaritiâ, nocentissimi,  
with bloody hands, with (of) dreadful avarice, most-injurious,

que iidem superbissimi: quibus fides, decus, pietas,  
and the same most-proud: to whom faith, honour, piety,

postremò, omnia honesta atque inhonesta sunt  
lastly, all honourable and dishonourable (things) are

quæstui. Pars eorum, habent pro munimento,  
for gain. Part of them, have for a bulwark,

occidisse tribunos plebis, alii injustas  
to have killed tribunes of the commonalty, others unjust

quæstiones, plerique fecisse cædem in vos: ita  
inquisitions, most to have done slaughter against you: thus

quàm quisque fecit pessumè, tam est maxumè  
as each has done most-badly, so is-he most

tutus; transtulere  
safe; [the worse any one has acted the safer he is]; they have transferred

metum à suo scelere ad vestram ignaviam:  
fear from their-own wickedness to your indolence:

omnis (omnes) quos cupere eadem, odisse eadem,  
all whom to desire the same, to have hated the same,

metuere eadem coëgit in unum. Sed hæc est  
to fear the same has collected into one (body). But this is

amicitia inter bonos, factio inter malos. Quòd si  
friendship among the good, faction among the bad. But if

vos haberetis curam libertatis tam, quàm illi  
you might have a care of liberty so, as they

accensi-sunt ad dominationem; profectò respublica  
have been inflamed to tyranny; indeed the republic

neque vastaretur sicuti nunc, et vestra beneficia  
neither would be desolated as now, and your favours

forent penès optimos, non audacissimos.  
[of offices] would be in-the-power-of the best, not the most-daring.

Vestri majores armati, bis occupavere Aventinum  
Your ancestors armed, twice occupied the Aventine (mount)

per secessionem gratiâ juris parandi et  
by a secession for-the-sake of justice to be procured and

majestatis constituendæ; nonne vos-nitemini  
of dignity to-be-established; whether (or-not) will you endeavour

summâ ope pro libertate, quam accepistis  
with the utmost might for the liberty, which you have received

ab illis? atque vehementiùs eò quòd est  
from them? and the more-earnestly therefore by-how-much it is

majus dedecus amittere parata, quàm non  
a greater disgrace to lose (things) obtained, than not

paravisse omnino! Aliquis dicet, Quid  
to have acquired (them) at-all! Some-one will say, What

igitur censes? vindicandum in  
therefore thinkest-thou? (it is) to-be-vindicated against [why that

eos, qui prodidere  
punishment should be inflicted on] those, who have betrayed

republicam hosti, non manu, neque vi;  
the republic to the enemy, not by hand (action), neither by force;

quod est magis indignum vos fecisse, quàm  
which is more unworthy (for) you to have done, than

accidisse illis: verùm quætionibus et indi-  
to have happened to them: but by examinations and by the informa-

cio Jugurthæ ipsius. Qui, si est dedititius,  
tion of Jugurtha himself. Who, if he is a surrenderer

erit profectò obediens vestris jussis: sin  
will be indeed obedient to your commands: but-if



contemnit ea, scilicet ætimabitis qualis illa  
 he despises those, forsooth you will estimate what-sort that  
 pax aut deditio sit, ex quâ impunitas  
 peace or surrender may be, from which impunity  
 scelerum ad Jugurtham, maxumæ divitiæ  
 of (for) crimes (accrues) to Jugurtha, the greatest riches  
 pervenerint ad paucos potentis (potentes), damna  
 may have come to a few powerful (persons), losses  
 atque dedecora in rempublicam. Nisi etiam fortè  
 and disgraces to the republic. Unless [also] perhaps  
 satietas dominationis eorum nondum tenet vos :  
 a satiety of the tyranny of them not-yet possesses you :  
 et illa tempora, cùm regna, provinciæ, leges, jura,  
 and those times, when kingdoms, provinces, laws, rights,  
 judicia, bella atque paces, postremò omnia divina  
 judgments, wars and peaces, lastly all divine  
 et humana erant penès paucos, placent  
 and human (things) were in-the-power-of a few, please  
 magis quàm hæc : autem vos, hoc est, Romanus  
 more than these (times) : but you, this is, the Roman  
 populus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium  
 people, unconquered by enemies, rulers of all  
 gentium habebatis satis retinere animam.  
 nations did have (did account it) sufficient to retain existence.  
 Nam quidem quis vestrûm audebat recusare servitutem ?  
 For indeed who of you did dare to refuse slavery ?  
 Atque tametsi ego existumo flagitiosissimum viro  
 And although I think (it) most-disgraceful to a man  
 accepisse injuriam impunè ; tamen paterer  
 to have received injury with-impunity ; yet I would suffer  
 æquo animo vos ignoscere sceleratissimis  
 with even (patient) mind you to pardon to the most-wicked  
 hominibus, quoniam sunt cives ni misericordia  
 men, since they are citizens unless compassion  
 esset casura in perniciem. Nam et fecisse  
 might be about-to-fall into destruction. For and (also) to have done  
 malè impunè est parùm illis, quantum  
 badly with-impunity is little to them, how-great (so much)



importunitatis habent, nisi deinde  
 of vexation [of insolence] they have, unless afterwards  
 licentia faciundi eripitur, et æterna  
 the privilege of doing (so) is taken-away, and eternal  
 sollicitudo remanebit vobis, cum intelligetis aut  
 anxiety will remain to you, when you shall understand either  
 esse-serviendum, aut libertatem  
 to be-enslaved, [that you are either to be enslaved] or liberty  
 retinendam per manus. Nam quidem quæ spes  
 to-be-retained by hands (force). For indeed what hope  
 fidei aut concordiaë est? Illi volunt dominari;  
 of faith or of concord is there? They will to tyrannise;  
 vos esse liberi: illi facere injurias, vos prohibere:  
 you [will] to be free: they to do injuries, you to prohibit  
 postremò utuntur vestris sociis, veluti hostibus,  
 (them): lastly they use your allies, as enemies,  
 hostibus pro sociis. Ne potest pax aut  
 (your) enemies for allies. Whether can peace or  
 amicitia esse in mentibus tam divorsis? Quare  
 friendship be in minds so different? Wherefore  
 moneo que hortor vos, ne-dimittatis tantum  
 I advise and exhort you, (that) you may not-dismiss so great  
 scelus impunitum. Peculatus ærarii factus-est  
 wickedness unpunished. A robbery of the treasury has been made  
 non; neque pecuniæ ereptæ sociis per vim: quæ  
 not; neither moneys snatched from allies by force: which  
 quamquam sunt gravia, tamen habentur jam  
 although they are heavy (crimes), yet are had now  
 pro nihilo consuetudine: auctoritas senatûs  
 for nothing by custom: the authority of the senate  
 prodita (est) acerrumo hosti: vestrum imperium  
 has been betrayed to your most-fierce enemy: your dominion  
 proditum: respublica fuit venalis domi que militiæ.  
 betrayed: the republic has been venal at home and abroad.  
 Quæ nisi quæsita-erunt, nisi  
 Which unless it shall have been inquired-into, unless (it shall be)  
 vindicatum in noxios, quid erit reliquum,  
 vindicated against the guilty, what will be remaining,

nisi ut vivamus obedientes illis qui fecere ea?  
 unless that we may live obedient to those who have done those

Nam facere quælibet impunè id est  
 (things)? For to do any (things) with-impunity, that is  
 esse regem. Neque ego hortor vos, Quirites! uti  
 to be king. Neither do I exhort you, O Romans! that

jam malitis vestros civis (cives) fecisse perperam  
 now you-may-rather your citizens to have done amiss

quàm rectè: sed ne eatis perditum bonos,  
 than rightly: but lest you may go to destroy the good,

ignoscendo malis. Ad-hoc præstat multo in  
 by pardoning to the bad. To this (besides) it is better by much in

republicâ esse immemorem beneficii quàm maleficii.  
 a republic to be unmindful of a kindness than of injury.

Bonus tantummodo fit segnior, ubi  
 A good (man) only is made more-careless, when

negligas; at malus improbior.  
 thou mayest neglect (him); but a bad (man) more wicked.

Ad-hoc, si injuriæ sint non, haud-egeas auxilii  
 Besides, if injuries be not, thou mayest not-want of aid

sæpe.  
 often.

Caius Memmius dicundo hæc atque alia  
 Caius Memmius by saying these and other (things)

hujusmodi persuadet Romano populo, uti Lucius  
 of this-kind persuades to the Roman people, that Lucius

Cassius, qui tum erat prætor, mitteretur ad  
 Cassius, who then was pretor, should be sent to

Jugurtham, que duceret eum Romam, publicâ  
 Jugurtha, and should lead him (to) Rome, the public

fide interpositâ, quò delicta Scauri  
 faith having been interposed, in-order-that the transgressions of Scaurus

et reliquorum, quos arcessebant pecuniæ captæ,  
 and of the rest, whom they did accuse of money being taken,

patefierent indicio regis. Dum  
 might be-open (be discovered) by the information of the king. Whilst

hæc geruntur Romæ, qui relictî in  
 these (things) are carried-on at Rome, (they) who having been left in

Numidiâ ab Bestiâ præerant exercitui, secuti  
 Numidia by Bestia did preside to the army, having followed  
 morem sui imperatoris, fecere plurima et  
 the custom of their commander, did very-many and  
 flagitiosissima facinora. Fuere qui corrupti  
 most-disgraceful crimes. There were (some) who being corrupted  
 auro, traderent (*imp. sub.*) elefantos  
 by gold, might (did) deliver the elephants  
 Jugurthæ; alii venderent perfugas; pars  
 to Jugurtha; others might (did) sell the deserters; part  
 agebant prædas ex pacatis. Tanta vis  
 did drive-away plunder from pacified (provinces). So-great a force  
 avaritiæ invaserat in animos eorum veluti  
 of avarice had invaded against the minds of them as  
 tabes. At Cassius prætor, rogatione  
 a pestilence. But Cassius the pretor, an inquiry  
 perlatâ à Caio Memmio, ac omni  
 having been carried (passed) by Caius Memmius, and all  
 nobilitate percussâ, proficiscitur ad Jugurtham :  
 the nobility being-struck (terrified), sets-out to Jugurtha :  
 que persuadet ei, timido, et diffidenti suis rebus,  
 and persuades to him, fearful, and distrusting to his affairs,  
 ex conscientiâ, quoniam dedidisset  
 from conscience, since he might have surrendered (had sur-  
 rendered) himself to the Roman people, ne-malit experiri  
 se Romano populo, ne-malit experiri  
 rendered) himself to the Roman people, that he may not-rather to try  
 vim quam misericordiam ejus : præterea  
 the force than compassion of it (them): besides  
 interponit suam fidem privatim, quam ille  
 he interposes his-own faith privately, which he (Jugurtha)  
 ducebat non minoris quam publicam  
 did lead (think) not of less (value) than the public (faith).  
 Talis erat fama de Cassio eâ tempestate. Igitur  
 Such was the fame of Cassius at that time. Therefore  
 Jugurtha venit Romam cultu quàm maxumè  
 Jugurtha came (to) Rome in habit as most  
 miserabili contra regium decus.  
 miserable contrary-to royal honour. [In mean dress, incon-

At tametsi magna vis animi  
 sistent with royal dignity.] But although great strength of mind  
 erat in ipso, confirmatus ab omnibus, potentiâ  
 was in himself, being strengthened by all, by the power  
 aut scelere quorum gesserat cuncta ea  
 or wickedness of whom he had carried-on all those (things)  
 quæ memoravimus suprâ, parat Caium  
 which we have recorded above, he prepares (procures) Caius  
 Bæbium, tribunum plebis, magnâ mercede,  
 Bæbius, a tribune of the common-people, by a great reward,  
 impudentiâ ejus munitus-foret contra jus et  
 by the impudence of whom he might be secured against law and  
 omnis (omnes) injurias. At Caius Memmius,  
 all injuries. But Caius Memmius,  
 concione advocatâ, quamquam plebes erat  
 an assembly being summoned, although the commonalty was  
 infesta regi, et pars jubebat duci in  
 hostile to the king, and part did order (him) to be led into  
 vincula, pars supplicium sumi de hoste  
 chains, part punishment to be taken of the enemy  
 more majorum, ni aperiret  
 in the manner of (our) ancestors, unless he would disclose  
 socios sceleris; consulens magis dignitati  
 the companions of (his) wickedness; consulting more to dignity  
 quàm iræ, sedare motus, et mollire  
 than to anger, (began) to allay the commotions, and to soften  
 animos eorum; postremò, confirmare publicam  
 the minds of them; lastly, to affirm the public  
 fidem fore inviolatam per sese.  
 faith to be about-to-be [should be] inviolate through himself.  
 Post, ubi silentium coepit, Jugurthâ producto,  
 Afterwards, when silence began, Jugurtha being led-forth,  
 facit verba: memorat  
 he makes words: [he, Memmius, addresses him]: recounts (his)  
 facinora Romæ que Numidiæ; ostendit scelera  
 crimes at Rome and at Numidia; shows (his) wickednesses  
 in patrem que fratres; quamquam Romanus  
 towards (his) father and brothers; although the Roman

populus intelligat quibus juvantibus que  
people may understand (understands) by whom assisting and

quibus ministris egerit (*perf. sub.*) ea, tamen  
by what servants he may have done (he did) those (things), yet

velle habere magis manifesta ex illo: si  
to will to have (them) more manifest from him: if

aperiat verum, magnam spem sitam illi  
he may disclose the truth, great hope (would be) placed for him

in fide et clementiâ Romani populi, sin  
in the faith and the clemency of the Roman people, but-if

reticeat, fore non saluti  
he be silent, to-be-about-to-be not [it would not be] for safety to (his)

sociis, sed corrupturum se que  
companions, but about-to-destroy [but would destroy] himself and

suas spes. Dein, ubi Memmius fecit finem dicendi,  
his hopes. Then, when Memmius made an end of speaking,

et Jugurtha jussus-est respondere, Caius Bæbius,  
and Jugurtha was-ordered to answer, Caius Bæbius,

tribunus plebis, quem diximus suprâ  
tribune of the common-people, whom we have said above (to have

corruptum pecuniâ, jubet regem tacere: ac  
been) corrupted by money, orders the king to be-silent: and

tametsi multitudo, quæ aderat in concione,  
although the multitude, which was-present in the assembly,

vehementer accensa, terrebat cum clamore, vultu,  
exceedingly inflamed, did affright with clamour, countenance

sæpe impetu, atque omnibus aliis quæ  
(looks), often with violence, and with all other (things) which

ira amat fieri; tamen impudentia vicit. Ita  
anger loves to be done; yet impudence conquered. Thus

populus habitus ludibrio, discedit ex concione:  
the people being held in ridicule, departs out-of the assembly:

animi augescent Jugurthæ, que Bestiæ, et  
minds (spirit) increase to Jugurtha, and to Bestia, and

cæteris, quos illa quæstio exagitabat. Erat eâ  
to the rest, whom that inquiry did harass. There was at that

tempestate quidam Numida Romæ, Massiva nomine,  
time a certain Numidian at-Rome, Massiva by name,



filius Gulussæ, nepos Masinissæ, qui quia fuerat  
 son of Gulussa, grandson of Masinissa, who because he had been  
 adversus Jugurthæ in dissensione regum, Cirtâ  
 adverse to Jugurtha in the dissension of the kings, Cirta

deditâ, et Atherbale interfecto, profugus  
 being surrendered, and Adherbal being killed, (as) an exile  
 abierat ex Africâ. Spurius Albinus, qui gerebat  
 had departed out-of Africa. Spurius Albinus, who did carry-on

consulatum cum Quinto Minucio Rufo proximo anno  
 the consulship with Quintus Minucius Rufus in the next year

post Bestiam, persuadet huic, quoniam sit ex  
 after Bestia, persuades to him, since he may be (is) of

stirpe Masinissæ, urgeat Jugurtham  
 the stem (family) of Masinissa, (that) he may press Jugurtha

invidiâ cum metu ob scelera,  
 by odium with fear on-account-of (his) wickednesses, (and)

petat

may seek [and as odium, with fear on account of his wickedness, pressed

regnum Numidiæ

hard on Jugurtha, he, Massiva, should seek] the kingdom of Numidia

ab senatu. Consul, avidus belli gerundi,  
 from the senate. The consul, desirous of the war to be-carried-on,

malebat omnia moveri quàm senescere.  
 had-rather all (things) to be disturbed than to grow old.

Provincia Numidia evenerat ipsi, Macedonia Minucio.  
 The Province Numidia had come to him, Macedonia to Minucius.

Quæ postquam Massiva cœpit agitare neque  
 Which (things) after that Massiva began to deliberate neither

est satis præsidii Jugurthæ in amicis; quòd  
 is there sufficient of protection to Jugurtha in friends; because

conscientia impediēbat alium eorum, mala fama  
 conscience did hinder another (one) of them, bad character

et timor animi alium: imperat Bomilcari, proximo  
 and fear of mind another: he commands to Bomilcar, the nearest

ac maxumè fido sibi, paret insidiatores  
 and most faithful to him, (that) he may procure assassins

Massivæ pretio, sicuti confecerat multa;  
 for Massiva by a reward (bribe), as he had accomplished many (things);



ac maxumè occulte. Sin id parùm-procedat,  
and most secretly. But-if that may not-succeed,

interficiat Numidam quovis modo. Bomilcar maturæ  
he may kill the Numidians in any manner. Bomilcar speedily

exsequitur mandata regis, et explorat itinera, que  
executes the mandates of the king, and explores the journeys, and

egressus ejus, postremò,  
egresses of him, [his routes, and time of leaving home], lastly,

cuncta loca atque tempora  
all [his] places [of resort] and times [of frequenting them]

per homines artifices talis negotii; dein ubi  
through men skilful of (in) such business; then when

res postulabat, tendit insidias. Igitur unus ex  
the thing did require; he lays snares. Therefore one of

eo numero, qui parati-erant ad cædem,  
that number, who had been procured to (for) the murder,

aggreditur Massivam paulò inconsultiùs, obtruncat  
attacks Massiva a little too-rashly, murders

illum; sed ipse deprehensus, profitetur indicium,  
him; but he being apprehended, confesses the information,

multis hortantibus, sed in-primis  
[gives full information], many encouraging (him), but particularly

Albino consule. Bomilcar, comes ejus, qui venerat  
Albinus the consul. Bomilcar, the companion of him, who had come

Romam publicâ fide, fit reus magis ex  
(to) Rome with the public faith, is made criminal rather according-to

æquo que bono, quàm ex jure gentium.  
just and good, than according-to the right of nations.

At Jugurtha manifestus tanti sceleris,  
But Jugurtha manifest (convicted) of so-great wickedness,

omisit non niti contra verum priusquam  
omitted not to endeavour against the truth before-that

animadvortit invidiam facti esse super suam  
he perceives the envy (odium) of the deed to be above his

gratiam atque pecuniam. Igitur quamquam dederat  
interest and money. Therefore although he had given

quingenta ex amicis vades in priora  
fifty of (his) friends (as) bail in the former

actione, consulens magis  
 action, [when Bomilcar was first put on trial], [consulting more  
 regno, quàm vadibus, dimittit Bomilcarem  
 for his kingdom, than for the securities,] he sends-away Bomilcar  
 clam in Numidiam, veritus ne metus parendi  
 privately into Numidia, having dreaded lest a fear of obeying  
 sibi invaderet reliquos popularis (populares), si  
 to him might attack (his) remaining subjects, if  
 supplicium sumptum-foret de illo:  
 punishment might have been taken (had been taken) of him:  
 et ipse jussus à senatu decedere Italiâ,  
 and he been ordered by the senate to depart from Italy,  
 profectus-est eòdem paucis diebus. Sed postquam  
 set-out to the same (place) in a few days. But after that  
 egressus-est Româ, tacitus, respiciens eò, fertur,  
 he departed from Rome, silent, looking-back thither, he is reported,  
 postremò dixisse, urbem venalem, et maturè  
 lastly to have said, the city (to be) venal, and speedily  
 perituram, si invenerit emptorem. Interim Albinus,  
 about-to-perish, if it shall have found a purchaser. Meantime Albinus,  
 bello renovato, maturè portare in Africam  
 the war being renewed, (began) speedily to convey into Africa  
 commeatum, stipendium, que alia, quæ forent  
 provision, pay, and other (things), which might be  
 usui militibus: ac ipse statim profectus,  
 for use to soldiers: and himself immediately set-out,  
 ut conficeret bellum armis, aut deditione, aut  
 that he might finish the war by arms, or by surrender, or  
 quovis modo. At Jugurtha contra trahere  
 in any manner. But Jugurtha on-the-other-hand (began) to protract  
 omnia, et facere alias, deinde alias caussas  
 all (things), and to make other, then other causes  
 moræ: pollicere deditionem, ac deinde simulare  
 of delay: to promise a surrender, and then to pretend  
 metum: cedere instanti, et paullo pòst instare,  
 fear: to yield (to him) urging, and a-little after to urge  
 ne sui diffident: ita ludificare  
 (him), lest his-own (people) might distrust: thus to baffle

consulem modò morâ belli, modò pacis. Ac fuêre,  
the consul now by delay of war, now of peace. And there were

qui existumarent (*imp. sub.*) tum Albinum  
(some), who might (did) think then Albinus

haud ignarum consilii regis; neque crederent  
not ignorant of the design of the king; nor would believe

bellum tam facile tractum ex tantâ properantiâ,  
the war so easily protracted out-of (after) so-great haste,

magis socordiâ quam dolo. Sed postquam,  
rather from inactivity than by deceit. But after-that,

tempore dilapso, dies comitiorum  
the time having glided-away, the day of the elections

adventabat, Albinus, fratre Aulo relicto  
did approach, Albinus, (his) brother Aulus being left

pro prætor in castris, decessit Romam.  
[pro pretor] in the camps, departed (to) Rome.

Respublica agitabatur atrociter eâ tempestate  
The commonwealth was harassed dreadfully at that time

Romæ tribunitiis seditionibus. P. Lucullus,  
at Rome by tribunitial seditions. Publius Lucullus,

et L. Annius, tribuni plebis, nitebantur  
and Lucius Annius, tribunes of the people, did strive

continuare magistratum, collegis  
to continue (their) magistracy, (their) colleagues

resistentibus: quæ dissensio impediabat comitia  
opposing (it): which dissension did hinder the elections

totius anni. Aulus adductus in spem eâ morâ,  
of the whole year. Aulus being led into hope by that delay,

quem diximus supra relictum (esse) proprætore in  
whom we have said above to have been left (as) proprætor in

castris, aut belli conficiundi, aut  
the camps, either (for the sake) of the war to-be-finished, or

pecuniæ capiundæ ab rege terrore exercitûs,  
of money to-be-taken from the king by the terror of (his) army,

evocat milites ex hibernis in expeditionem,  
calls-out the soldiers out-of winter-quarters into an expedition,

mense Januario: que magnis itineribus asperâ  
in the month January: and by great marchés in a rough

hieme, pervenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi thesauri  
 winter, arrived at the town Suthul, where the treasures  
 regis erant. Quod quanquam poterat neque  
 of the king were. Which although [he] was-able neither  
 capi neque obsideri, et sævitiâ temporis  
 to be taken nor to be besieged, both by the severity of the time  
 et opportunitate loci, (nam limosa  
 and by the commodiousness [defences] of the place, (for a marshy  
 planiciës fecerat paludem hiemalibus aquis circum  
 plain had made a lake from the wintry waters about  
 murum situm in extremo prærupti montis)  
 the wall situate on the extreme (edge) of a rugged mountain)  
 tamen, aut gratiâ simulandi, quò adderet  
 however, either for the sake of pretending, in-order-that he might add  
 formidinem regi, aut cæcus cupidine  
 (strike) terror to the king, or blind with a desire  
 potiundi oppidi ob thesauros, agere  
 of possessing the town on-account-of the treasures, (he began) to act  
 vineas, jacere aggerem, que properare  
 (advance) mantelets, to throw-up a mound, and to hasten  
 alia, quæ forent usui incepto. At  
 other (things), which might be for use to the undertaking. But  
 Jugurtha, vanitate atque imperitiâ legati  
 Jugurtha, the vanity and ignorance of the lieutenant  
 cognitâ, subdolus augere amentiam :  
 being known, crafty (began) to increase (his) insanity :  
 missitare supplicantis legatos : ipse, quasi  
 to send-often supplicating ambassadors : himself, as-if  
 vitabundus ductare exercitum per saltuosa  
 avoiding (him) to lead (his) army through woody  
 loca, et tramites. Denique, pepulit Aulum  
 places, and cross-paths. Finally, he forced Aulus  
 spe pactionis, uti Suthule relicto,  
 by the hope of an agreement, that Suthul being left,  
 insequeretur sese in abditas regiones, veluti  
 he might pursue himself into hidden (remote) regions, as-if  
 cedentem : ita delicta fore occultiora.  
 yielding : thus (his) transgressions to be about-to-be more secret.

Interea tentabat exercitum die que noctu,  
 Meantime he did try (tempt) the army by day and by night,  
 per callidos homines: corrumpere centuriones que  
 by crafty men: to corrupt the centurions and  
 duces turmarum, uti transfugerent; uti alii, signo  
 leaders of companies, that they might desert; that others, a sign  
 dato, desererent locum. Quæ postquam  
 being given, might abandon the place. Which (things) after that  
 instruxit ex sententiâ; circumvenit castra  
 he arranged according-to (his) determination; he surrounded the camps  
 Auli de-improviso intempestâ nocte, multitudine  
 of Aulus suddenly in unseasonable night, with a multitude  
 Numidarum. Romani milites, perculsi insolito  
 of Numidians. The Roman soldiers, struck with the unusual  
 tumultu, alii capere arma; alii abdere se;  
 tumult, (began) others to take arms; others to hide themselves;  
 pars confirmare territos; trepidare omnibus  
 part to encourage the affrighted; to tremble in all  
 locis; vis hostium magna; cœlum  
 places; the force of the enemies (was) great; heaven (the sky)  
 obscuratum nocte atque nubibus, periculum  
 darkened by the night and by clouds, the danger (was)  
 anceps: postremò, erat in-incerto  
 double [on both sides]: lastly, it was doubtful (whether)  
 foret tutius fugere an manere. Sed ex eo  
 it might be safer to flee or to remain. But out-of that  
 numero, quos diximus paullo antè corruptos-(esse),  
 number, whom we have said a little before to have been corrupted,  
 una cohors Ligurum, cum duabus turmis  
 one cohort of Ligurians, with two companies  
 Thracum, et paucis gregariis-militibus, transiêre  
 of Thracians, and a few common-soldiers, went-over  
 ad regem, et centurio primi-pili tertîæ  
 to the king, and a centurion of the first-order of the third  
 legionis dedit locum introeundi hostibus per  
 legion gave a place of entering to the enemies through  
 munitionem, quam acceperat uti defenderet;  
 a fortification, which he had received that he might defend (it);



que eâ cuncti Numidæ irrupère. Nostri  
and by that all the Numidians burst-in. Our (men)

plerique armis abjectis, occupavere proximum  
most (their) arms being thrown-away, seized the nearest

collem foedâ fugâ. Nox atque præda castrorum  
hill in shameful flight. Night and the spoil of the camps

remorata-sunt hostes, quo minus-uterentur  
delayed the enemies, that they might not use (improve)

victoriâ (*abl.*) Dein Jugurtha postero die facit  
the victory. Afterwards Jugurtha in the following day makes

verba cum Aulo in colloquio: "Tametsi tenet  
words with Aulus in a conference: "Although he holds

ipsum cum exercitu clausum fame que ferro,  
him with (his) army shut-up by famine and iron

tamen se memorem humanarum rerum;  
(sword), however himself (to be) mindful of human things;

si faceret foedus secum,  
if he would make a treaty with-himself, (that he would be)

missurum omnis (omnes) incolumes sub jugum;  
about-to-send all safe under the yoke;

præterea, uti decederet Numidiâ decem  
besides, that he should depart from Numidia in ten

diebus." Quæ quanquam erant gravia et  
days." Which (things) although they were heavy and

plena flagitii, tamen, quia mutabantur metu  
full of infamy, however, because they were exchanged with the fear

mortis, pax convenit, sicuti libuerat regi.  
of death, peace was agreed-on, so-as it had pleased to the king.

Sed ubi ea comperta-sunt Romæ, metus  
But when those (things) were discovered at Rome, fear

atque mœror invasere civitatem: pars dolere  
and sorrow attacked the state: part (began) to grieve

pro gloriâ imperii; pars, insolita bellicarum  
for the glory of the empire; part, unused of warlike

rerum, timere libertati. Omnes infesti  
affairs, to fear for (their) liberty. All (were) hostile

Aulo, ac maxime qui fuerant sæpè præclari  
to Aulus, and chiefly (those) who had been often illustrious



bello ; quòd armatus quæsierit salutem  
in war ; because being armed he may have sought safety

dedecore potiùs quam manu. Consul  
by disgrace rather than by hand (by valour). The consul

Albinus, timens invidiam ex delicto  
Albinus, fearing odium from the transgression of (his)

fratris ob ea, ac deinde periculum,  
brother on-account-of these (things), and then danger [to him-

consulebat senatum de fœdere : et tamen  
self], did consult the senate concerning the treaty : and however

interim scribere supplementum exercitui ;  
mean-time (began) to write (levy) an addition to the army ;

arcessere auxilia ab sociis et Latino nomine ;  
to send-for auxiliaries from the allies and the Latin name ;

denique, festinare omnibus modis. Senatus decernit  
finally, to hasten in all manners. The senate decrees

ita uti fuerat par : “ Nullum fœdus  
so as had been equal (proper) : “ No treaty

potuisse fieri suo-injussu  
to have been-able to be made [could be made] without their-order

atque populi.” Consul impeditus à  
and (that) of the people.” The consul being hindered by

tribunis plebis, ne-portaret secum  
the tribunes of the people, (that) he might not carry with him

copias quas paraverat, proficiscitur in Africam  
the forces which he had prepared, sets-out into Africa

paucis diebus. Nam omnis exercitus deductus  
in a few days. For all the army being led-away

Numidiâ, hiemabat in provinciâ, uti  
from Numidia, did winter in the province, as

convenerat. Postquam venit eò, quamquàm  
it had been agreed-on. After that he came thither, although

ardebat animo persequi Jugurtham, et mederi  
he did burn in mind to pursue Jugurtha, and to remedy

fraternæ invidiæ, militibus cognitis, quos præter  
to brotherly odium, the soldiers being known, whom besides

fugam, imperio soluto, licentia atque  
(their) flight, authority being dissolved, licentiousness and

lascivia corruperant, statuit ex copiâ  
 wantonness had corrupted, he determined from the plenty

rerum nihil agitandum sibi.  
 of things nothing to be agitated to (by) himself. [From the nature of

Interea, C.  
 the case, that nothing could be done by him.] Meantime, Caius

Mamilius Limetanus, tribunus plebis, promulgat  
 Mamilius Limetanus, tribune of the people, publishes

rogationem ad populum Romæ, "Uti quæreretur  
 an inquiry (bill) to the people at Rome, "That it should be inquired

in eos, consilio quorum Jugurtha neg-  
 against those, by advice of whom Jugurtha might have (had) con-

lexisset decreta senati; que qui acce-  
 temned the decrees of the senate; and who might have (had) re-

pissent pecunias ab eo in legationibus aut imperiis;  
 ceived moneys from him in embassies or commands;

qui tradidissent elephantos, que qui  
 who might have (had) delivered elephants, and who

perfugas; item qui fecissent pactiones  
 deserters; likewise who might have (had) made conventions

de pace aut bello cum hostibus." Partim  
 about peace or war with the enemies." (Persons) partly

conscii sibi, alii metuentes pericula ex invidiâ  
 conscious to themselves, others fearing dangers from the odium

partium, parabant impedimenta huic rogationi,  
 of parties, did prepare impediments [to this demanded-investigation],

(quoniam poterant non resistere apertè, quin  
 (since they were-able not to resist openly, but-that

faterentur illa et talia alia placere  
 they might confess those (things) and such other (things) to please

sibi)  
 to themselves) [unless they should be content to confess those, and such

occultè per amicos ac maxumè per  
 other things] secretly by (their) friends and chiefly by

homines Latini nominis et Italicos socios.  
 men of the Latin name (nation) and the Italian allies.

Sed est incredibile memoratu, quam intenta  
 But it is incredible to be related, how intent

plebes fuerit, que quantâ vi,  
 the common-people may have been (was), and with how-great force,  
 jusserit (*perf. sub.*), decreverit, voluerit  
 (they) may have ordered, may have decreed, may have willed  
 rogationem, magis odio nobilitatis, cui illa  
 the inquiry (bill), more from hatred of the nobility, for whom those  
 mala parabantur, quàm carâ reipublicæ; tanta  
 evils were prepared, than from regard of the state; so-great  
 lubido erat in partibus. Igitur cæteris percussis  
 passion was in the factions. Therefore the rest being struck  
 metu, M. Scaurus, quem memoravimus supra  
 with fear, Marcus Scaurus, whom we have recorded above  
 fuisse legatum Bestiæ, inter lætitiâ plebis  
 to have been a lieutenant of Bestia, between the gladness of the people  
 et fugam suorum, civitate etiam tum  
 and the flight of his-own (friends), the state even then (being)  
 trepidâ, cùm tres quæsitores rogarentur  
 fearful, when (as) three inquisitors might be (were) demanded  
 ex Mamilianâ rogatione, effecerat ut  
 from [by] the Mamilian bill, [he] had accomplished that  
 ipse crearetur in eo numero. Sed quæstione  
 he might be created [selected] in that number. But the inquiry  
 exercitâ asperè, que violenter ex rumore, et  
 being carried-on roughly, and violently from report, and  
 lubidine plebis, ut insolentia sæpè ceperat  
 the passion of the people, as intemperance often had taken  
 nobilitatem ex secundis rebus, sic plebem  
 the nobility from favourable things, so (it seized) the people  
 eâ tempestate. Cæterum mos popularium  
 in that time. But the custom of popular  
 partium, et factionum senati, ac deinde omnium  
 parties, and of factions of the senate, and afterwards of all  
 malarum artium, ortus-est paucis annis antè  
 bad qualities [practices], arose in a few years before  
 Romæ, otio atque abundantia earum rerum quæ  
 at Rome, from leisure and the abundance of those [things] which  
 mortales ducunt prima. Nam antè Carthaginem  
 mortals deem first. For before Carthage

deletam, Romanus populus et senatus tractabant  
 being destroyed, the Roman people and the senate did manage  
 rempublicam placidè que modestè inter se;  
 the commonwealth quietly and moderately among themselves;  
 neque erat certamen gloriæ neque dominationis  
 neither was (there) a contest of glory nor of supremacy

inter cives: hostilis metus retinebat civitatem bonis  
 among citizens: the hostile fear did keep the state in good  
 artibus. Sed ubi illa formido discessit  
 qualities [practices]. But when that terror departed

mentibus, scilicet ea lascivia atque superbia  
 from (their) minds, forsooth that wantonness and pride  
 quæ secundæ res amant, incessere. Ita postquam  
 which prosperous things loves, came-on. Thus after-that  
 adepti-sunt otium, quod optaverunt in adversis rebus,  
 they obtained the leisure, which they wished in adverse things,  
 fuit asperius que acerbius. Namque  
 it was more-rough (injurious) and more-bitter. For

nobilitas cœpere vertere dignitatem, populus  
 the nobility began to turn (their) dignity, the people (their)  
 libertatem, in lubidinem: quisque ducere,  
 liberty, into passion: every one (began) to draw-away,  
 trahere, rapere sibi. Ita omnia abstracta-sunt  
 to drag, to seize for himself. Thus all (things) were drawn-away  
 in duas partis (partes). Respublica, quæ fuerat  
 into two parties. The commonwealth, which had been

media, dilacerata-(est). Cæterum nobilitas pollebat  
 middle, was torn-asunder. But the nobility did prevail  
 magis factione: vis plebis, soluta  
 more in party: the force of the common-people being dissolved  
 atque dispersa in multitudinem, minus-poterat:  
 and scattered among the multitude, was less-powerful:

agitabatur belli que domi arbitrio paucorum.  
 it was transacted of war (abroad) and at-home by the will of a few.

Ærarium, provinciæ, magistratus, gloriæ, que triumph  
 The treasuries, the provinces, magistracies, glories, and triumphs  
 erant penes eosdem; populus urgebatur militiâ  
 were in-the-power-of the same; [the people were harassed by war

atque inopiâ; imperatores cum paucis diripiebant  
 and want;] the commanders with a few did plunder  
 bellicas prædas. Interea parentes aut parvi liberi  
 the warlike spoils. Mean-while the parents or little children  
 militum pellebantur sedibus, uti quisque  
 of the soldiers were expelled from (their) settlements, as every-one  
 erat confinis potentiori. Ita avaritia  
 was neighbouring to a more-powerful (person). Thus avarice  
 sine modo que modestiâ, cum potentiâ  
 without measure and moderation, with power (began)  
 invadere, polluere, et vastare omnia; habere  
 to attack, to defile, and to waste all (things); to have  
 nihil pensi, neque sancti,  
 nothing of consideration, [to regard nothing], nor of sacred, [nor  
 as sacred], quoad ipsa præcipitavit semet. Nam  
 until it threw-headlong itself. For  
 ubi-primum reperti-sunt ex nobilitate, qui  
 when-first (persons) were found out-of the nobility, who  
 anteponerent veram gloriam injustæ potentiæ, civitas  
 would prefer true glory to unjust power, the state  
 cœpit moveri, et civilis dissensio, quasi permixtio  
 began to be disturbed, and civil discord, as-if a confusion  
 terræ, oriri. Nam postquam Tiberius, et  
 of the earth, (began) to arise. For after-that Tiberius, and  
 C. Gracchus, quorum majores addiderant multum  
 Caius Gracchus, whose ancestors had added much  
 reipublicæ Punico atque aliis bellis, cœpere vindicare  
 to the state in the Punic and in other wars, began to assert  
 plebem in libertatem, et patefacere scelera  
 the common-people into liberty, and to expose the crimes  
 paucorum; nobilitas noxia atque eò perculsa,  
 of a few; the nobility guilty and therefore struck (terrified),  
 ierat-obviam actionibus Gracchorum, modò per socios  
 had opposed to the processes of the Gracchi, one-time by the allies  
 ac Latinum nomen, interdum per Romanos  
 and the Latin name (nation), sometimes by the Roman  
 equites, quos spes societatis dimoverat à  
 knights, whom the hope of a union had separated from



plebe: et primò necaverat ferro  
 the common-people: and first had killed with the iron (sword)  
 Tiberium, dein Caium post paucos annos ingredientem  
 Tiberius, then Caius after a few years entering-on  
 eadem, alterum tribunum, alterum triumvirum  
 the same (things), the other (one) a tribune, the other a triumvir  
 coloniis deducendis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco. Et  
 for colonies to-be-led-on, with Marcus Fulvius Flaccus. And  
 sanè animus satis moderatus fuit haud Gracchis  
 truly a mind sufficiently moderate was not to the Gracchi  
 cupidine victoriæ. Sed est satiùs vinci bono  
 from eagerness of victory. But it is preferable to be conquered in a good  
 more, quam vincere injuriam malo. Igitur  
 manner (cause), than to conquer injury in a bad (one). Therefore  
 nobilitas, usâ eâ victoriâ ex suâ lubidine,  
 the nobility, having used that victory according-to their passion,  
 extinxit multos mortales ferro aut fugâ;  
 destroyed many mortals with the iron (sword) or by banishment;  
 que addidit plus timoris quam potentiæ sibi in  
 and added more of fear than of power to themselves unto  
 reliquum. Quæ res plerumque pessum-  
 the rest (remaining time). Which thing generally has preci-  
 dedit magnas civitates: dum alteri volunt  
 pitated [destroyed] great states: whilst the others will  
 vincere alteros quovis modo, et ulcisci victos  
 to conquer the others in any manner, and to avenge the conquered  
 acerbîus. Sed si parem disserere singillatim aut  
 more-bitterly. But if I may prepare to discuss individually or  
 pro magnitudine de studiis  
 in proportion-to the greatness (of the affair) about the zeals  
 partium et omnibus moribus civitatis, tempus deseret  
 of parties and all the morals of the state, time will fail  
 maturiùs quàm res. Quamobrem redeo  
 sooner than the thing (subject). Wherefore I return  
 ad inceptum.  
 to the undertaking.

Post fœdus Auli que fœdam fugam nostri  
 After the treaty of Aulus and the disgraceful flight of our



exercitûs, Metellus et Silanus, consules designati,  
 army, Metellus and Silanus, the consuls elect,  
 partiverant provincias inter se: que Numidia  
 had shared the provinces between themselves: and Numidia  
 venerat Metello, acri viro, et quanquam  
 had come (by lot) to Metellus, a vigorous man, and although  
 adverso partibus populi, tamen æquabili  
 adverse to the factions of the people, however with (of) steady  
 et inviolatâ famâ. Ubi is primùm ingressus-est  
 and inviolate report. When he first entered-on  
 magistratum, ratus omnia alia sibi cum  
 the magistracy, having thought all other (things) for himself with  
 collegâ, intendit animum ad bellum quod  
 (his) colleague, he applies (his) mind to the war which  
 erat gesturus. Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui,  
 he was about to carry-on. Therefore distrusting to the old army,  
 scribere milites, arcessere præsidia  
 (he began) to write (levy) soldiers, to send-for protections [aid]  
 undique: parare arma, tela, equos, et cætera  
 from-every-side: to prepare arms, weapons, horses, and the other  
 instrumenta militiæ, ad hoc commeatum  
 instruments of warfare, to this (besides) provision  
 affatim; denique, omnia quæ solent esse  
 abundantly; finally, all (things) which are accustomed to be  
 usui in vario bello, et egenti multarum rerum.  
 for use in a changeable war, and needing of many things.  
 Cæterum senatus adnitebatur ad ea  
 But the senate did strive to those (things)  
 patranda auctoritate, socii que Latinum  
 to-be-accomplished by (its) authority, the allies and the Latin  
 nomen et reges mittendo auxilia ultro,  
 name (nation) and kings by sending auxiliaries voluntarily,  
 postremo omnis civitas summo studio.  
 lastly all the state (did strive) with the highest zeal.  
 Itaque omnibus rebus paratis que compositis  
 Therefore all things being prepared and arranged  
 ex sententiâ, proficiscitur in Numidiam,  
 according-to determination, he sets-out into Numidia,

magnâ spe civium, cùm propter bonas  
 with great hope of the citizens, as-well on-account-of (his) good  
 artis (artes), tùm maxumè quòd gerebat invictum  
 qualities, as chiefly because he did bear an unconquered  
 animum advorsum divitias: ante id tempus nostræ  
 mind against riches: before that time our  
 opes contusæ-erant que hostium auctæ  
 resources had been bruised and (those) of the enemies increased  
 avaritiâ magistratum. Sed ubi venit in  
 by the avarice of the magistrates. But when he came into  
 Africam, exercitus Spurii Albini, pro consule,  
 Africa, the army of Spurius Albinus, [acting] for the consul,  
 traditur ei, iners, imbellis, patiens neque  
 is delivered to him, inactive, unwarlike, enduring neither  
 periculi neque laboris, promptior linguâ quàm  
 of danger nor of labour, more-ready in tongue than  
 manu, prædator ex sociis, et ipse præda  
 in hand (action), a plunderer from allies, and itself the prey  
 hostium, habitus sine imperio et modestiâ. Ita  
 of the enemies, held without authority and moderation. Thus  
 plus solitudinis accedebat novo imperatori ex  
 more of anxiety did accrue to the new commander from  
 malis moribus, quàm auxilii aut bonæ spei  
 (their) bad habits, than of aid or of good hope  
 ex copiâ militum. Tamen Metellus statuit  
 from the abundance of the soldiers. However Metellus resolved  
 non attingere bellum priùs quàm  
 not to touch the war before than he might have (had)  
 coëgisset milites laborare disciplinâ  
 compelled the soldiers to labour (under) the discipline of (our)  
 majorum, quamquam mora imminuerat et tempus  
 ancestors, although the delay had diminished both the time  
 æstivorum comitiorum, et putabat animos  
 of the summer elections, and he did think the minds  
 civium intentos, expectatione eventi. Nam  
 of the citizens intent-on (him), by expectation of the issue. For  
 Albinus, percussus clade fratris Auli que  
 Albinus, struck with the defeat of (his) brother Aulus and

exercitûs, habebat milites plerumque stativis  
 of the army, did hold the soldiers generally in stationary  
 castris, quantum temporis æstivorum fuit  
 camps, as-much of the time of the summer-quarters [as] he was

in imperio, postquam decreverat non egredi  
 in authority, after-that he had resolved not to go-out

provinciâ, nisi cùm odos aut egestas pabuli  
 from the province, unless when the stench or want of forage

subegerat mutare locum. Sed neque  
 had compelled (him) to change (his) place. But neither

vigiliæ deducebantur militari more; ut  
 the watches were conducted in a military manner; as

lûebat cuique, aberat ab signis.  
 it did please to every-one, he was-absent from (his) standards.

Lixæ, permisti cum militibus, vagabantur  
 The victuallers, intermixed with the soldiers, did stray-about

diu que noctu: et palantes vastare  
 by-day and by night: and roving (were accustomed) to ravage

agros, expugnare villas, certantes agere prædas  
 the lands, to assault the country-seats, vying to drive booties

pecoris et mancipiorum; que mutare ea  
 of cattle and of slaves; and to exchange those

advectitio vino et talibus aliis cum mercatoribus:  
 for imported wine and such other (things) with the merchants:

præterea vendere frumentum datum publicè,  
 besides to sell the corn given publicly (at public

mercari panem indies: postremò, quæcunque  
 expense), to traffic-in bread daily: lastly, whatever

proba ignaviæ que luxuriæ queunt dici aut  
 disgraces of laziness and of luxury can be said or

finigi, cuncta fuère in illo exercitu, et alia  
 be imagined, all (those) were in that army, and others

ampliùs. Sed comperior Metellum fuisse  
 more (besides). But I find Metellus to have been

non minùs magnum et sapientem virum in eâ  
 not less a great and wise man in that

difficultate, quàm in hostilibus rebus: moderatum (esse)  
 difficulty, than in hostile affairs: to have governed

tantâ            temperantiâ            inter            ambitionem            que  
 with so-great            moderation            between            ambition            and  
 sævitiam.            Namque            primùm            sustulisse  
 severity.            For (I find him) first            to have withdrawn  
 adjumenta            ignaviæ            edicto,            "quisquam  
 the aids            of laziness            by an edict,            "(that) any-one  
 ne-venderet            panem in castris, aut quem alium  
 should-not-sell            bread in the camps, or any other  
 coctum cibum;            lixæ ne-sequerentur exercitum;  
 cooked food; (that) scullions should not-follow the army;  
 gregarius            miles            ne-haberet            servum aut  
 (that) a common soldier should-not-have a slave or  
 jumentum in castris, neve in agmine:"  
 a beast-of-burthen in the camps, nor in the army  
 statuisset modum artè ceteris;  
 (on the march):" to have appointed a limit closely to the rest;  
 præterea movere castra quotidie transvorsis  
 moreover to move the camps daily by cross  
 itineribus; munire vallo atque fossâ  
 journeys; to fortify (them) with a rampart and with a ditch  
 juxtâ ac-si hostes adessent;            ponere  
 equally as-if the enemies might be (were) at-hand; to place  
 crebras vigilias, et ipse cum legatis  
 frequent watches, and himself with the lieutenants  
 circuire eas; item adesse modò in agmine  
 to go-round them; likewise to be-present one-time in the troop (march)  
 in primis, modò in postremis, sæpè in medio,  
 among the first, one-time among the last, often in the middle,  
 ne quisquam egrederetur ordine; uti miles  
 lest any-one might go-out from the rank; that the soldier  
 portaret cibum et arma, cùm incederent  
 should carry food and arms, when they might (did) proceed  
 frequentes            signis. Ita  
 numerous [when they marched in a body] with the standards. Thus  
 confirmavit exercitum brevè, magis prohibendo à  
 he strengthened the army shortly, more by preventing from  
 delictis quàm vindicando. Interea ubi Jugurtha  
 transgressions than by punishing. Mean-time when Jugurtha

accepit ex nunciis, quæ Metellus  
 received (heard) from messengers, what (things) Metellus  
 agebat; simul factus certior Romæ de  
 did act; at-the-same-time being made more-sure at Rome of  
 innocentia ejus, diffidere suis rebus, ac  
 the integrity of him, (he began) to distrust in his-own affairs, and  
 tum demum conatus-est facere veram deditionem.  
 then at-last endeavoured to make a true (real) surrender.  
 Igitur mittit legatos ad consulem cum suppliciis,  
 Therefore he sends ambassadors to the consul with entreaties,  
 qui peterent tantummodò vitam ipsi que liberis,  
 who might ask only life for himself and children,  
 dederent omnia alia  
 might surrender [that he would surrender] all other (things)  
 Romano populo. Sed cognitum-erat jam antea  
 to the Roman people. But it had been known already before  
 experimentis Metello, genus Numidarum esse infidum,  
 by trials to Metellus, the race of the Numidians to be faithless,  
 mobili ingenio, avidum novarum rerum.  
 with changeable disposition, eager of new things (revolution).  
 Itaque aggreditur legatos diversos alium ab alio;  
 Therefore he accosts the ambassadors apart one from the other;  
 ac tentando paullatim, postquam cognovit  
 and by trying (them) by degrees, after-that he knew (them)  
 opportunos sibi, persuadet pollicendo multa,  
 convenient for himself, he persuades (them) by promising many  
 uti traderent Jugurtham sibi maxumè  
 (things), that they should deliver Jugurtha to himself particularly  
 vivum, sin id procedat parum, necatum: cæterum  
 alive, but-if that may succeed little (not), killed: but  
 jubet nunciari palam regi, quæ forent  
 he orders to be announced openly to the king, what (things) might be  
 ex voluntate. Deinde ipse procedit  
 according-to (his) will. Afterwards himself proceeds  
 in Numidiam paucis diebus, intento atque infesto  
 into Numidia in a few days, with a prepared and hostile  
 exercitu: ubi tuguria erant plena hominum,  
 army: where the cots were full of men,



pecora (*pl.*) que cultores in agris, contra  
the cattle and the cultivators (were) in the fields, contrary-to

faciem belli: præfecti regis procedebant obvii  
the appearance of war: the prefects of the king did proceed opposite

ex oppidis et mapalibus, parati dare  
(towards him) out-of the towns and cottages, prepared to give

frumentum, portare commeatum, postremò facere  
corn, to carry provision, finally to do

omnia quæ imperarentur. Neque Metellus  
all (things) which might be ordered. Neither Metellus

idcirco minùs incedere munito agmine,  
therefore (began) the less to proceed with a guarded troop, [Metellus

sed pariter  
did not on that account march with less precaution], but equally

ac-si hostes adessent, explorare latè  
as-if the enemies might be (were) at-hand, to search widely

omnia, credere illa signa deditionis ostentui,  
all (things), to believe those signs of a surrender for a show,

et tentare locum insidiis.  
and to try (sound) the place for ambushes. [And that the enemy

Itaque ipse erat  
only sought a proper place for an ambushade.] Therefore himself was

cum expeditis cohortibus, item delectâ manu  
with the light-armed cohorts, also with a chosen band

funditorum et saggitariorum, apud primos;  
of slingers and archers, at (among) the first [in front];

C. Marius legatus curabat cum  
Caius Marius (his) lieutenant did take care (was on duty) with

equitibus in postremo: dispertiverat  
the cavalry in the last (the rear): he had shared (divided)

auxiliaros equites tribunis legionum, et præfectis  
the auxiliary cavalry to the tribunes of the legions, and to the prefects

cohortium, in utrumque latus; uti velites  
of cohorts, unto each side (wing); that the skirmishers

permixti cum his, propulsarent equitatus (*pl.*)  
being mingled with these, might repulse the cavalry

hostium, quòcunque accederent. Nam erat  
of the enemies, wheresoever they might approach. For (there) was

tantus dolus in Jugurthâ, que tanta peritia locorum  
so-great deceit in Jugurtha, and so-great knowledge of the places

et militiæ, ut haberetur in-incerto absens  
and of warfare, that it might be held doubtful (whether) absent

an præsens, gerens pacem an bellum, esset  
or present, carrying-on peace or war, he might be

perniciosior. Erat haud longè ab eo itinere,  
more-destructive. There was not far from that route,

quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum.  
by which Metellus did proceed, a town of the Numidians,

nomine Vacca, forum venalium rerum, maxumè  
by name Vacca, a mart of saleable things, most

celebratum totius regni; ubi multi mortales Italici  
frequented of the whole kingdom; where many mortals of the Italian

generis consueverant et incolere et mercari.  
race had been accustomed both to dwell and to purchase.

Huc consul, gratiâ simul tentandi,  
Hither the consul (went), for the sake at-the-same-time of trying (it),

et si opportunitates loci paterentur, imposuit  
and if opportunities of the place might suffer (it), he placed

præsidium: præterea imperavit comportare  
a garrison: moreover he ordered (them) to bring

frumentum, et alia, quæ forent usui bello:  
corn, and other (things), which might be for use in war:

ratus id, quod res monebat, frequentiam  
having thought that, which the affair did advise, the assemblage

negotiatorum et commeatum juvaturum  
of merchants and of provisions [there] about-to-assist

exercitum, et jam fore  
the army, [would aid his army], and now to be about-to-be

munimento rebus paratis.  
for a defence [and would now be a defence] for the things prepared.

Inter hæc negotia, Jugurtha modò mittere  
Among these affairs, Jugurtha now (began) to send

impensiùs supplices legatos, orare pacem:  
more-earnestly suppliant ambassadors, to entreat peace:

dedere omnia Metello præter suam vitam  
to surrender all (things) to Metellus except his life

que liberorum. Quos consul dimittebat  
and (that) of (his) children. Whom the consul did dismiss

item domum, uti priores, illectos ad  
also home, [and] as the former, being allured [by him] to

proditionem: neque abnuere neque polliceri  
treachery: (he appeared) neither to refuse nor to promise

regi pacem quam postulabat, et, inter eas  
to the king the peace which he did require, and, among those

moras, exspectare promissa legatorum.  
delays, to await the promises of the ambassadors.

Ubi Jugurtha composuit dicta Metelli cum  
When Jugurtha compared the words of Metellus with (his)

factis, ac animadvertit se tentari suis artibus;  
deeds, and perceived himself to be tried by his-own arts;

quippe cui pax nunciabatur verbis, cæterum  
forsooth to whom peace was announced in words, but

re asperrimum bellum erat, maxuma  
in the thing (in reality) the roughest war was, [for] a very-great

urbs alienata, ager cognitus hostibus, animi  
city [was] alienated, the land known to the enemies, the minds

popularium tentati; coactus  
(affections) of (his) country-men tried [tampered with]; compelled

necessitudine rerum, statuit certare armis. Igitur,  
by the necessity of things, he determined to contend by arms. Therefore,

itinere hostium explorato, adductus in spem  
the route of the enemies being reconnoitred, being led into the hope

victoriæ ex opportunitate loci, parat copias  
of victory from the convenience of the place, he prepares forces

omnium generum quàm-maximas potest, ac antevenit  
of all kinds as-great-as he is-able, and outstrips

exercitum Metelli per occultos tramites. Flumen,  
the army of Metellus by concealed by-paths. A river,

nomine Muthul, oriens à meridie, erat in eâ  
by name Muthul, rising from the south, was in that

parte Numidiæ, quam Atherbal possederat in  
part of Numidia, which Adherbal had possessed in

divisione; à quo mons aberat fermè viginti  
the division; from which a mountain was-distant nearly twenty

millia passuum, pari tractu,  
 thousands of paces, in an equal [parallel] direction [with the river],  
 vastus ab natura et humano cultu;  
 desert from nature and human cultivation; [and uncultivated  
 by man]; but a hill did arise as-if from the middle-of it,  
 pertinens in immensum, vestitus oleastro ac  
 reaching unto an immense (extent), clothed with wild-olive and  
 myrtetis, que aliis generibus arborum, quæ  
 with myrtle-groves, and with other kinds of trees, which  
 gignuntur arido atque arenoso humi. Autem  
 are produced in a dry and sandy (soil) on-the-ground. But  
 media planities deserta, panuria aquæ,  
 the middle plain (was) desert, [as there was] a scarcity of water,  
 præter loca propinqua flumini: ea consita  
 except the places near to the river: those planted  
 arbustis frequentabantur pecore atque cultoribus.  
 with shrubs were frequented by cattle and by husbandmen.  
 Igitur Jugurtha, acie suorum extenuatâ,  
 Therefore Jugurtha, the line of his (men) being lengthened,  
 consedit in eo colle, quem docuimus  
 encamped in that hill, which we have taught (shown) (to be)  
 porrectam transverso itinere: præfecit  
 extended in a transverse way (direction): he appointed  
 Bomilcarem elephantis et parti pedestrium copiarum;  
 Bomilcar to the elephants and to part of the foot forces;  
 que edocet eum quæ ageret: ipse propior  
 and instructs him what (things) he should do: himself nearer  
 montem collocat suos cum omni equitatu et  
 the mountain places his (men) with all the cavalry and  
 delectis peditibus: dein circumiens singulas turmas  
 [chosen] foot: then going-round each-of the companies  
 et manipulos, monet atque obtestatur, uti, memores  
 and divisions, he reminds and beseeches, that, mindful  
 pristinæ virtutis et victoriæ, defendant  
 of (their) ancient valour and victory, they may defend  
 sese que suum regnum ab avaritiâ Romanorum:  
 themselves and his kingdom from the avarice of the Romans:

certamen fore cum his quos miserint (*perf. sub.*  
the contest to be about-to-be with those whom they may have sent (they

victos antea sub jugum: ducem, non animum,  
sent) conquered before under the yoke: the general, not the mind,

mutatum-(esse) illis: omnia quae decuerint  
to have been changed for them: all (things) which may have been-fit

(*perf. sub.*) ab imperatore, provisum-(esse) suis;  
[to provide] from a commander, to have been provided for his (men);

locum (esse) superiorem, consererent manum.  
the place (ground) to be superior, they should join hand (battle),

uti prudentes cum imperitis, ne  
as skilful (persons) with unskilful, [in the localities], not (as)

pauciores cum pluribus, aut rudes cum  
the fewer with the more-(numerous), or the ignorant with

melioribus bello: proinde essent parati  
the better [skilled] in war: wherefore they should be prepared

que intenti, signo dato, invadere Romanos: illum  
and ready, a signal being given, to attack the Romans: that

diem aut confirmaturum omnes labores et  
day either (to be) about-to-establish all (their) labours and

victorias, aut fore initium maxumarum  
victories, or to be about-to-be the beginning of the greatest

aerumnarum. Ad hoc commonefacere  
miseries. To this (besides) (he began) to remind

sui beneficii, et ostentare eum ipsum  
(each) of his kindness, and to point-out that (person) himself

aliis, viritim, uti extulerat quemque pecuniâ  
[to others,] individually, as he had exalted each by money

aut honore ob militare facinus: postremò,  
or by honour on-account-of a military exploit: finally,

excitare alium alio modo, pollicendo pro  
to rouse another in another manner, by promising according-te

ingenio cujusque, minitendo, obtestando: cum  
the disposition of every-one, by often-threatening, by beseeching: when

interim Metellus, ignarus hostium, degrediens  
[in the mean-time] Metellus, ignorant of the enemies, coming-down

monte, conspicatur cum exercitu. Primò,  
from the mountain, spies (him) with (his) army. First,



dubius quidnam insolita facies ostenderet, (nam  
 doubtful what the unusual appearance might display, (for  
 equi que Numidæ consederant inter virgulta,  
 the horses and the Numidians had encamped among the shrubs,  
 neque planè occultati humilitate arborum, et  
 neither quite concealed by the lowness of the trees, and  
 tamen incerti quidnam esset, ipsi atque  
 however uncertain what it might be, themselves and  
 militaria signa obscurati cùm naturâ loci,  
 the military standards being concealed as-well by the nature of the place,  
 tùm dolo), dein insidiis cognitis brevì,  
 as by stratagem), then the ambuscades being known shortly,  
 constituit agmen paulisper. Ibi ordinibus  
 he halted . the troop (army) a-little. There the ranks  
 commutatis, instruxit aciem triplicibus  
 being changed, he arrayed (his) line with triple  
 subsidiis, in dextro latere, quod erat proximum  
 reserves, on the right side (flank), which was nearest  
 hostes: dispertit funditores et sagittarios  
 the enemies: he divides the slingers and archers  
 inter manipulos; locat omnem equitatum in  
 among the companies; places all the cavalry in  
 cornibus; ac cohortatus milites pauca  
 the wings; and having exhorted the soldiers a few (words)  
 pro tempore, deducit aciem in planum,  
 according-to the time, he leads-down the line into the level (ground)  
 principiis transvorsis sicuti  
 the van-guards (being led) across [the front being changed] so-as  
 instruxerat. Sed ubi animadvertit Numidas  
 he had arrayed (them). But when he perceived the Numidians  
 quietos, neque degredi colle, veritus ex  
 quiet, nor to come-down from the hill, having feared from  
 tempore anni et inopiâ aquæ, ne exercitus  
 the time of the year and the want of water, lest the army  
 conficeretur siti, præmisit legatum Rutilium  
 might be spent with thirst, he sent-forward the lieutenant Rutilius  
 cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum, ad  
 with the light-armed cohorts and part of the cavalry, to

flumen, uti antecaperet locum castris,  
the river, that he might take-previously a place for the camps,

existumans hostes remoratorios suum iter  
thinking the enemies about-to-retard his march

crebro impetu, et transvorsis præliis,  
by frequent assault, and indirect battles, [and flank attacks,]

et quoniam diffident armis, tentaturos  
and since they might distrust to arms, (to be) about-to-try

lassitudinem et sitim militum.

the fatigue and thirst of the soldiers. [And since he (Jugurtha)

distrusted a battle, he was about to try the effects of fatigue and thirst on

Dein ipse procedere paullatim,  
our soldiers.] Afterwards himself (began) to advance gradually,

pro re atque loco, sicuti descenderat  
according-to the affair and the place, just-as he had descended

monte: habere Marium post principia;  
from the mountain: to have Marius behind the vanguards;

ipse esse cum equitibus sinistrae alæ, qui  
himself [Metellus] to be with the cavalry of the left wing, who

facti-erant principes in agmine.  
had been made chiefs (the van) on the troop (on the march).

At ubi Jugurtha videt extremum agmen Metelli  
But when Jugurtha sees the last troop of Metellus

prætergressum suos primos, occupat montem  
having passed his-own first, he occupies the mountain

præsidio quasi duûm millium peditum, quâ  
with a guard as-if (about) of two thousand infantry, where

Metellus descenderat: ne fortè adversariis  
Metellus had descended: lest by-chance, the enemies

cedentibus foret receptui, ac post munimento:  
retreating it might be for a refuge, and afterwards for a defence:

dein, signo dato repente, invadit hostes. Alii  
then, a signal being given suddenly, he attacks the enemies. Other

Numidæ cedere postremos: pars tentare  
Numidians (began) to strike the last: part to try (them)

à sinistra ac dextrâ: infensi adesse, atque  
from the left and right: hostile to be-at-hand, and

instare : conturbare ordines Romanorum omnibus  
to press-on : to disturb the ranks of the Romans in all

locis ; quorum etiam qui fuerant obvii  
places ; of whom even (those) who had been opposite (opposed)

hostibus firmioribus animis, ludificati incerto  
to the enemies with more-strong minds, baffled by the uncertain

prælio, ipsi modò sauciabantur eminùs, neque  
battle, themselves now were wounded at-a-distance, nor

erat copia contrâ feriundi aut  
was there plenty (the means) on-the-other-hand of striking (them) or

conserendi manum. Equites docti jam  
of joining hand (battle). The cavalry being taught already

antè ab Jugurthâ, recipiebant sese  
before by Jugurtha, did betake themselves (did retreat)

non confertim, neque in unum, ubicunque turma  
not closely, nor in one (body), whenever a company

Romanorum cœperat insequi, sed quàm-maximè  
of the Romans had begun to pursue, but as-much-as-possible

divorsi, alius alio. Ita priores  
apart, the other (one) from the other. Thus (being) superior

numero, si nequiverant detertere hostes à  
in number, if they had been-unable to deter the enemies from

persequendo, circumveniebant disiectos ab  
pursuing, they did surround (them) scattered from

tergo aut lateribus : sin collis opportunior  
the back [rear] or the sides : but-since the hill (was) more-convenient

fugæ quàm campi fuerant, eà verò equi  
for flight than the plains had been, there truly the horses

Numidarum consueti evadere faciliè  
of the Numidians being accustomed (were able) to escape easily

inter virgulta ; asperitas et insolentia loci  
among the shrubs ; the roughness and unusualness of the place

retinebat nostros. Cæterum facies totius  
did keep-back our (men). But the appearance of the whole

negotii varia, incerta, foeda, atque miserabilis ;  
business (was) variable, uncertain, foul, and wretched ;

pars dispersi à suis, cedere, alii insequi ;  
part scattered from their-own, (began) to give-way, others to pursue ;

observare neque signa neque ordines: ubi  
to regard neither standards nor ranks: where

periculum ceperat quemque, resistere ac propulsare  
danger had taken each, to resist and to repulse

ibi: arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes, cives  
there: arms, weapons, horses, men, enemies, citizens [were]

permixti; nihil agi consilio neque imperio;  
intermingled; nothing to be acted by counsel nor by command;

fors regere omnia. Itaque multum diei  
chance to govern all (things). Therefore much of the day

processerat, cùm etiam tum eventus erat in incerto.  
had advanced, when even then the issue was in a doubtful

Denique, omnibus languidis labore et  
(state). Finally, all (being) faint by labour and

æstu, ubi Metellus videt Numidas instare minùs,  
by heat, when Metellus sees the Numidians to press-on less,

conducit milites paullatim in unum;  
he leads-together the soldiers gradually into one (body);

restituit ordines, et collocat quatuor legionarias  
he restores the ranks, and places four legionary

cohortes advorsum pedites hostium. Magna  
cohorts against the foot-soldiers of the enemies. A great

pars eorum fessa consederat superioribus locis.  
part of them wearied had sat-down on the higher places.

Simul orare, hortari milites,  
At-the-same-time (he began) to beseech, to exhort the soldiers,

“Ne-deficerent, neu paterentur fugientes  
“(That) they should not-fail, nor should suffer fleeing

hostes vincere: neque castra neque ullum  
enemies to conquer (them): neither camps nor any

munimentum esse illis, quò cedentes  
fortification to be for them, whither yielding

tenderent: omnia sita in armis.”  
they might proceed-to: all (things to be) placed in arms.”

Sed nec quidem erat Jugurtha quietus interea;  
But neither [indeed] was Jugurtha quiet mean-time;

circuire, hortari, renovare prælium, et  
(he began) to go-about, to exhort, to renew the battle, and

ipse cum delectis tentare omnia; subvenire  
himself with chosen (men) to try all (things); to relieve

suis; instare hostibus dubiis, retinere,  
to his-own (men); to press-on to the enemies doubtful, to retain

quos cognoverat firmos, pugnando eminus.  
(those) whom he had known firm, for fighting at-a-distance.

Duo imperatores, summi viri, certabant eo  
The two commanders, very-great men, did contend in that

modo inter se: ipsi pares, ceterum  
manner between themselves: themselves equal, but

disparibus opibus. Nam virtus militum erat  
with unequal resources. For bravery of soldiers was

Metello, locus advorsus: omnia alia opportuna  
to Metellus, the place adverse: all other (things) convenient

Jugurthæ, præter milites. Denique,  
[favourable] to Jugurtha, except (his) soldiers. Finally,

ubi Romani intelligunt nequo perfugium esse  
when the Romans understand neither a refuge to be

sibi, neque copiam pugnandi fieri ab  
for themselves, nor plenty (means) of fighting to be made by

hoste, et jam erat vesper diei, evadunt  
the enemy, and now it was the evening of the day, they depart

advorso colle, sicuti  
on the opposite hill, [they charge up the hill,] as

præceptum-fuerat. Loco amisso, Numidæ  
it had been instructed (them). The place being lost, the Numidians

fusi que fugati, pauci interiire: velocitas,  
(were) routed and put-to-flight, a few perished: (their) swiftness,

et regio ignara hostibus tutata-sunt plerosque.  
and a country unknown to the enemies protected most.

Interea Bomilcar, quem diximus supra præfectum  
Meantime Bomilcar, whom we have said above to have been set-over

elephantis et parti pedestrium copiarum ab  
to the elephants and to part of the foot forces by

Jugurthâ, deducit suos paullatim in æquum  
Jugurtha, leads down his (men) gradually into the level

locum, ubi Rutilius prætergressus-est eum; ac  
place, when Rutilius passed-by him; and



quietus exornat aciem, uti res postulabat, dum  
tranquil arrays (his) line, as the affair did require, while

legatus pergit festinans ad flumen, quò  
the lieutenant proceeds hastening to the river, whither

præmissus-erat; neque remittit explorare quid  
he had been sent-before; nor does he relax to examine what

hostis ageret ubique. Postquam accepit  
the enemy might do every-where. After-that he received (heard)

Rutilium consedisse jam, et vacuum  
Rutilius to have encamped already, and (to be) empty (free from

animo, que simul clamorem augeri  
anxiety) in mind, and at-the-same-time the shout to be increased

ex prælio Jugurthæ, veritus ne legatus, re  
from the battle of Jugurtha, having feared lest the lieutenant, the affair

cognitâ, foret auxilio suis laborantibus,  
being known, might be for aid to his-own [hard-pressed] (people),

porrigit aciem latiùs, quo obficeret  
he stretches (his) line more-widely, [by which he might hinder

itineri hostium quam diffidens virtuti  
the march of the enemy] which distrusting to the valour of (his)

militum, statuerat artè; que eo modo procedit  
soldiers, he had arranged closely; and in that manner he proceeds

ad castra Rutilii. Romani animadvertunt  
to the camps of Rutilius. The Romans perceive

magnam vim pulveris ex-improviso; nam  
a great force (quantity) of dust suddenly; for

ager consitus arbustis prohibebat prospectum. Et  
the land planted with shrubs did prevent the view. And

primò rati aridam humum agitari vento;  
first having thought the dry ground to be disturbed by the wind;

pòst, ubi vident manere æquabilem, et  
afterwards, when they see (it) to remain equal, and

appropinquare magis que magis, sicuti acies  
to approach more and more, as if the line [of the

movebatur, re cognitâ, properantes  
army] was moved, the affair being known, hastening

capiunt arma, ac consistunt pro castris, sicuti  
they take arms, and stand before the camps, as

imperabatur. Deinde, ubi ventum-est propiùs,  
it was ordered. Afterwards, when it was come nearer,

concurritur utrimque magno clamore. Numidæ  
it is rushed on-both-sides with a great shout. The Numidians

remorati tantummodo dum putant auxilium  
having delayed (stood) only whilst they think aid

in elephantis, postquam vident eos impeditos  
in the elephants, after-that they see them hindered

ramis arborum, atque ita disiectos circumveniri,  
by the branches of the trees, and thus scattered to be surrounded,

faciunt fugam: ac plerique, armis abjectis,  
they make flight: and most, (their) arms being thrown-away,

abeunt integri auxilio collis, aut noctis,  
depart whole (unhurt) by the aid of the hill, or of the night,

quæ jam aderat. Quatuor elephanti capti,  
which now was at-hand. Four elephants (were) taken,

omnes reliqui, quadraginta numero, interfecti.  
all the rest, forty in number, (were) killed.

At quanquàm Romani erant fessi itinere, atque  
But although the Romans were wearied by the journey, and

opere castrorum, et læti que prælio, tamen  
by the work of the camps, and glad also by the battle, however

quod Metellus morabatur ampliùs opinione,  
because Metellus did delay more (than) opinion,

procedunt obviam  
[longer than they thought he ought,] they advance towards (him)

instructi que intenti: nam dolus Numidarum  
arrayed and prepared: for the deceit of the Numidians

patiebatur nihil languidi neque remissi.  
did suffer nothing of faint nor of relaxed (conduct).

Ac primò, nocte obscurâ, postquam erant  
And first, the night (being) dark, after-that they were

haud procul inter se, alteri  
not far between themselves, [the Romans,] the others (began)

facere formidinem et tumultum simul apud  
to make terror and tumult at-the-same-time among

alteros strepitu,  
the others by the noise, [they each alarmed one another by the noise

velut hostes adventare : et  
 and tumult,] as-if the enemies (began) to come-up : and  
 miserabile facinus admissum (esset), pænè  
 a wretched deed would have been committed, almost  
 imprudentiâ, ni equites præmissi utrimque  
 by ignorance, unless cavalry being sent-forward on-either-side  
 exploravissent rem. Igitur pro  
 might have (had) examined the affair. Therefore instead-of  
 metu, gaudium exortum (est) repentè; milites læti  
 fear, joy arose suddenly; the soldiers joyful  
 appellant alius alium, edocent acta,  
 accost another (one) another, they inform [tell] (their) deeds,  
 atque audiunt : quisque fert sua fortia  
 and hear (others') : every-one carries (extols) his-own brave  
 facta ad cœlum. Quippe humanæ res habent  
 deeds to heaven. Forsooth human affairs have  
 sese ita : in victoriâ licet vel ignavis  
 themselves thus : in victory it is lawful or (even) to the cowardly  
 gloriari : advorsæ res detrectant etiam  
 to boast : adverse things detract (sink the courage of) even  
 bonos. Metellus moratus quadriduo (*sing.*) in  
 the good. Metellus having delayed four-days in  
 iisdem castris, reficit saucios cum curâ : donat  
 the same camps, refreshes the wounded with care : he presents  
 meritos in prælio more  
 (rewards those) having deserved-well in the battle in the manner  
 militiæ ; laudat universos in concione, atque agit  
 of warfare ; he praises all in an assembly, and acts  
 gratias : hortatur, gerant parem  
 (returns) thanks : he exhorts (them), [that] they may bear an equal  
 animum ad cætera, quæ sunt levia :  
 mind (spirit) to the rest, which are light (things) :  
 pugnatum (esse) satis jam pro victoriâ, reliquos  
 to have been fought sufficiently now for victory, the rest  
 labores fore pro prædâ. Tamen misit  
 (remaining) labours to be about-to-be for spoil. However he sent  
 interim transfugas et alios opportunos  
 mean-time deserters and others convenient (persons)

exploratum ubi gentium Jugurtha,  
 to examine where of nations (where-in-the-world) Jugurtha  
 aut quid agitare; ne esset cum  
 (might be), or what he might act; whether he might be with  
 paucis, an haberet exercitum; ut, victus,  
 a few, or might have an army; how, being conquered,  
 gereret sese. At ille receperat sese in  
 he might conduct himself. But he had betaken himself into  
 saltuosa loca, et munita naturâ; que ibi coge-  
 woody places, and fortified by nature; and there did collect  
 exercitum amplio-rem numero hominum, sed hebetem  
 an army very-copious in number of men, but dull  
 que infirmum, cultorem agri ac pecoris magis  
 and weak, a cultivator of the land and cattle more  
 quàm belli. Id eveniebat eâ gratiâ, quòd  
 than of war. That did happen from that favour (account), because  
 nemo omnium Numidarum sequitur regem ex fugâ  
 no-one of all the Numidians follows the king from flight  
 præter regios equites: discedunt eò, quò  
 except the royal cavalry: they depart thither, whither  
 animus cujusque fert: neque id ducitur  
 the mind of every-one carries (him): neither that is led (deemed)  
 flagitium militiæ: ita mores habent se. Igitur  
 a crime of warfare: thus manners have themselves. Therefore  
 ubi Metellus videt animum regis etiam tum esse  
 when Metellus sees the mind of the king even then to be  
 ferocem; bellum renovari, quod posset non  
 fierce; the war to be renewed, which might be-able not  
 geri nisi ex lubidine illius, præterea  
 to be carried-on unless from the pleasure of him, [Jugurtha,] besides  
 iniquum certamen sibi cum hostibus,  
 a disadvantageous contest for himself [Metellus] with the enemies,  
 illos vinci minore detrimento quam suos  
 them to be conquered with less loss than his-own (soldiers)  
 vincere,  
 to conquer, [that he (Metellus) would suffer a greater loss when victor,  
 than the enemy would when vanquished,] statuit bellum  
 he resolved the war

gerundum non præliis, neque acie, sed  
to be carried-on not by skirmishes, nor in-open-battle, but

alio more. Itaque pergit in opulentissima  
in another manner. Therefore he proceeds into the most-wealthy

loca Numidiæ; vastat agros; capit multa castella  
places of Numidia; ravages the lands; takes many castles

et oppida, munita temerè, aut sine præsidio,  
and towns, fortified rashly (in a hurry), or without garrison,

que incendit, jubet puberes interfici; omnia  
and burns (them), orders the adults to be killed; all

alia esse prædam militum. Eâ formidine  
other (things) to be the booty of the soldiers. From that terror

multi mortales dediti obsides Romanis:  
many mortals (were) surrendered (as) hostages to the Romans:

frumentum, et alia quæ forent usui,  
corn, and other (things) which might be for use, (were)

præbita affatim: præsidium impositum ubicunque  
afforded abundantly: a garrison (was) placed wherever

res postulabat. Quæ negotia terrebant  
the thing did require [one]. Which transactions did affright

regem multo magis quàm prælium malè pugnatum  
the king by much more than the battle ill fought

ab suis. Quippe, omnis spes cujus erat  
by his-own (men). Forsooth (he), all the hope of whom was

sita in fugâ, cogeatur sequi; et qui  
placed in flight, was compelled to follow; and (he) who

nequiverat defendere sua loca  
had been-unable to defend his-own [advantageous] places (was forced)

genere bellum in alienis.  
to carry-on war in others' (places). [In places chosen by another.]

Tamen capit consilium quod videbatur optimum  
However he takes the counsel which did seem best

ex inopiâ: jubet plerumque exercitum opperiri  
from necessity: he orders most-of the army to await (him)

in eisdem locis; ipse sequitur Metellum cum  
in the same places; himself follows Metellus with

delectis equitibus: ignoratus  
chosen cavalry: unknown [unobserved by the Romans] by (his)



nocturnis et aviis itineribus, aggreditur repentè  
 nightly and pathless routes, he attacks suddenly

Romanos palantes. Plerique eorum inermes  
 the Romans straggling. Most of them (being) unarmed

cadunt, multi capiuntur: nemo omnium profugit  
 fall, many are taken: no-one of all escaped

intactus; et Numidæ discedunt in proximos  
 untouched; and the Numidians depart into the nearest

colles, sicuti jussi-erant, priùs quàm  
 hills, so-as they had been ordered, before than it (they)

subveniretur ex castris. Interim rebus Metelli  
 might be assisted from the camps. Mean-time the affairs of Metellus

cognitis, ingens gaudium ortum (est) Romæ: ut  
 being known, great joy arose at Rome: how

gereret que se et exercitum more  
 he might (did) conduct both himself and the army in the manner

majorum; in advorso loco, tamen,  
 of (our) ancestors; (though) in an adverse place, however,

fuisset (*plup. sub.*) victor virtute;  
 he might have (had) been a conqueror by (his) valour; might (did)

potiretur agro hostium; coëgisset  
 possess with the land of the enemies; might have (had) compelled

Jugurtham, magnificum ex socordiâ Auli, habere  
 Jugurtha, splendid from the laziness of Aulus, to have

spem salutis in solitudine aut fugâ. Itaque  
 hope of safety in solitude or in flight. Therefore

senatus decernere supplicia immortalibus  
 the senate (determined) to decree thanksgivings to the immortal

Diis ob ea feliciter acta: civitas,  
 Gods on-account-of those (things) fortunately transacted: the state,

trepida antea, et sollicita de eventu belli,  
 fearful before, and anxious about the issue of the war, (began)

agere læta: fama esse præclara de Metello.  
 to act joyful: report to be illustrious about Metellus.

Igitur intentior eo, niti ad  
 Therefore more prepared on that (account), (he began) to strive to (for)

victoriam: festinare omnibus modis; tamen cavere,  
 victory: to hasten in all manners; however to beware,

necubi fieret opportunus hosti;  
 lest-any-where he might become convenient to the enemy; [give an  
 meminissee  
 advantageous opportunity to the enemy;] to have remembered (to re-  
 invidiam sequi post gloriam. Ita quo  
 member) envy to follow after glory. Thus by what  
 erat clarior, eò (erat)  
 (by how much) he was more-illustrious, by that (by so much) (he was)  
 magis anxius: neque prædari effuso  
 more anxious: nor (did he permit) to plunder with a scattered  
 exercitu post insidias Jugurthæ. Ubi erat opus  
 army after the snares of Jugurtha. When there was need  
 frumento aut pabulo, cohortes agitabant  
 with (of) corn or with forage, the cohorts did carry-on  
 præsidium cum omni equitatu: ipse ducebat partem  
 guard with all the cavalry: himself did lead part  
 exercitûs, Marius reliquos. Sed ager vastabatur  
 of the army, Marius the rest. But the land was ravaged  
 magis igni, quàm prædâ. Faciebant castra duobus  
 more by fire, than by plunder. They did make camps in two  
 locis haud longè inter se. Ubi erat opus  
 places not far between themselves. When there was need  
 vi, cuncti aderant: ceterùm agebant  
 with (of) force, all were at-hand: but they did act  
 divorsi, quò fuga atque formido crescerent  
 apart, in-order-that the flight and terror might increase  
 latiùs. Eò tempore Jugurtha sequi  
 more-widely. In that time Jugurtha (began) to follow  
 per colles; quærere tempus aut locum  
 through (over) the hills; to seek a time or place  
 pugnæ; corrumpere pabulum et fontes aquarum,  
 of battle; to spoil the forage and fountains of waters,  
 quorum erat penuria, quâ audierat hostem  
 of which there was a scarcity, where he had heard the enemy  
 venturum; ostendere se modò Metello interdum  
 about-to-come; to show himself one-time to Metellus, sometimes  
 Mario; tentare postremos in agmine,  
 to Marius; to try (attack) the last on the troop (march),

ac regredi statim in colles ;  
[to attack the rear,] and to return immediately unto the hills ;

rursus minitari aliis, pòst aliis ; neque facere  
again to threaten to others, afterwards to others ; neither make

prælium, neque pati otium ; tantummodò  
battle, nor to suffer quietness ; only

retinere hostem ab incepta. Ubi  
to keep-back the enemy from (his) undertakings. When

Romanus imperator videt se fatigari dolis,  
the Roman commander sees himself to be harassed by stratagems,

neque copiam pugnandi fieri ab hoste,  
nor opportunity of fighting to be made by the enemy,

statuit oppugnare magnam urbem, nomine Zamam,  
he resolved to assault a great city, by name Zama,

et arcem regni in eâ parte quâ erat sita ;  
and the citadel of the kingdom in that part in which it was situate ;

ratus id, quod negotium poscebat,  
having considered that, which the business did require, [that]

Jugurtham venturum auxilio suis  
Jugurtha about-to-come [would come] for aid to his-own

laborantibus, que prælium fore ibi.  
labouring (hard pressed), and a battle to be about-to-be there.

At ille, edoctus à perfugis quæ  
[Would be there.] But he, instructed by deserters what (things)

parabantur, antevenit Metellum magnis itineribus ;  
were prepared, outstrips Metellus by great marches ;

hortatur oppidanos defendant mœnia, perfugis  
exhorts the townsmen (that) they may defend the walls, deserters

additis auxilio, quod genus erat firmissimum  
being added for aid, which kind (of men) was the most-firm

ex copiis regis, quia nequibat fallere.  
out-of the forces of the king, because it was-unable to deceive (him).

Præterea pollicetur semet adfore in tempore  
Besides he promises himself to be about to-be-present in time

cum exercitu. Ita rebus compositis, discedit in  
with the army. Thus affairs being arranged, he departs into

loca quàm-maximè occulta ; ac paullo pòst, Marium  
places as-much-as-possible hidden ; and a little after, Marius

missum Siccam ex itinere, frumentatum cum  
being sent (to) Sicca out-of the march, to provide-corn with  
paucis cohortibus; quod oppidum primum omnium  
a few cohorts; which town first of all

post malam pugnam defecerat ab rege.  
after the bad (unsuccessful) battle had revolted from the king.

Eo pergit noctu cum delectis equitibus, et  
Thither he proceeds by night with chosen cavalry, and

Romanis jam egredientibus, facit pugnam in  
the Romans already going-out, he makes battle in

portâ: simul hortatur Siccenses magnâ  
the gate: at-the-same-time he exhorts the Siccenses with a great

voce, "Uti circumveniant cohortes ab tergo;  
voice, "That they may surround the cohorts from the rear;

fortunam dare illis casum præclari facinoris, si  
fortune to give to them a chance of a noble exploit, if

fecerint id; postea sese acturum  
they shall have done that; afterwards himself (to be) about-to-spend

ætatem in regno, illos in libertate sine  
(his) age in the kingdom, them in liberty without

metu." Ac ni Marius properavisset  
fear." And unless Marius might have (had) hastened

inferre signa, atque evadere oppido,  
to bear-forward the standards, and to escape from the town,

profectò cuncti aut magna pars Siccensium  
certainly all or a great part of the Siccenses

mutavissent fidem; Numidæ agunt sese  
would have changed fidelity; the Numidians act (conduct) themselves

tantâ mobilitate. Sed Jugurthini milites  
with so-great fickleness. But the Jugurthine soldiers

sustentati paullisper ab rege, postquam hostes  
being supported a-little-while by the king, after-that the enemies

urgent majore vi, paucis amissis, profugi  
press (them) with greater force, a few being lost, escaping

discedunt. Marius pervenit ad Zamam. Id oppidum  
depart. Marius arrived to Zama. That town

situm in campo, munitum-erat magis opere  
situate in a plain, had been fortified more by work (art)

quàm naturâ, egens nullius idoneæ rei, opulentum  
than by nature, wanting of no suitable thing, plentiful

armis que viris. Igitur Metellus, rebus paratis  
in arms and in men. Therefore Metellus, things being prepared

pro tempore atque loco, circumvenit cuncta  
according-to time and place, surrounds all

mœnia exercitu; imperat legatis, ubi quisque  
the walls with the army; commands to the lieutenants, where every-one

curaret: deinde, signo dato, ingens  
should take-care (command): afterwards, a signal being given, a great

clamor simul oritur undique. Neque  
shout at-the-same-time arises from-every-side. Nor [does]

ea res terret Numidas; manent infensi que  
that thing dismay the Numidians; they remain hostile and

intenti sine tumultu: prælium incipitur. Romani  
prepared without confusion: the battle is begun. The Romans

pugnare, quisque pro ingenio, pars  
(began) to fight, every-one according-to (his) ability, part

eminus glande aut lapidibus;  
from-a-distance with acorn (pellet) or with stones; [by throwing

alii evadere, alii succedere  
leaden balls and stones;] others to retire, others to succeed (them)

ac modò suffodere murum, modò aggredi  
and one-time to undermine the wall, one-time to attack (it)

scalis; cupere facere prælium in manibus.  
with ladders; to desire to make battle in hands (hand to

Oppidani contra ea volvere saxa  
hand). The townsmen against those (things) (began) to roll stones

in proximos, mittere sudes, pila, præterea  
on the nearest, to send (throw) stakes, darts, besides

tædum mistam pice et sulphure, ardentia. Sed  
torch-wood mingled with pitch and sulphur, burning. But

timor animi ne quidem muniverat satis illos, qui  
fear of mind not even had fortified sufficiently those, who

manserant procul. Nam jacula emissa tormentis  
had remained at-a-distance. For javelins sent from engines

aut manu vulnerabant plerosque, que boni  
or the hand did wound most, and the good (brave)



atque ignavi erant pari periculo, sed impari  
 and the inactive were in equal danger, but with unequal  
 famâ. Dum certatur sic apud Zamam, Jugurtha  
 fame. Whilst it is contended thus at Zama, Jugurtha  
 ex-improviso invadit castra hostium cum magnâ  
 suddenly attacks the camps of the enemies with a great  
 manu, qui erant in præsidio remissis et  
 band, (those) who were on guard (being) negligent and  
 expectantibus omnia magis quàm prælium,  
 expecting all (things) more than a battle,  
 irrumpit portam. At nostri perculsi repentino  
 he bursts the gate. But our (men), struck with sudden  
 metu, consulunt quisque sibi pro  
 fear, consult every-one for himself according-to (his)  
 moribus: alii fugere; alii capere arma:  
 habits: others (began) to flee; others to take arms:  
 magna pars vulnerati, aut occisi. Ceterùm  
 a great part (were) wounded, or slain. But  
 ex omni multitudine non ampliùs quadraginta,  
 out-of all the multitude not more (than) forty,  
 memores Romani nominis, grege facto,  
 mindful of the Roman name, a flock (body) being formed,  
 cepere locum paullò editiorem quàm alii;  
 took a place (station) a little more-elevated than the others;  
 neque quiverunt depelli inde maxumâ vi;  
 nor were they-able to be beaten-off thence by the greatest force;  
 sed pauci remittere tela missa eminus,  
 but the few (began) to throw-back the darts sent from-a-distance,  
 frustrati minùs in pluribus:  
 being disappointed less in the more (numerous): [their missiles  
 were more effective against the more numerous assailants:] but-if  
 Numidæ accessissent propiùs, ibi verò  
 the Numidians might have approached nearer, there truly  
 ostendere virtutem, et cædere, fundere,  
 (they began) to show (their) valour, and to cut, to rout,  
 atque fugare eos maxumâ vi. Interim cum  
 and to put-to-flight them with the greatest force. Mean-time when

Metellus gereret rem acerrumè, accepit  
 Metellus might (did) carry-on the affair most-vigorously, he heard  
 hostilem clamorem et tumultum à tergo: deinde  
 a hostile shout and tumult from the rear: then (his)  
 equo conorso, animadvertit fugam fieri advorsum  
 horse being turned, he perceived a flight to be made toward  
 se quæ res indicabat esse populares.  
 himself, which thing did show (them) to be countrymen. [His

Igitur misit omnem equitatum properè ad  
 own men.] Therefore he sent all the cavalry speedily to  
 castra, ac C. Marium statim cum cohortibus  
 the camps, and Caius Marius immediately with cohorts  
 sociorum, que lacrymans obsecrat eum "Per  
 of the allies, and weeping beseeches him "By (their)  
 amicitiam, que per rempublicam, ne-sinat  
 friendship, and by the commonwealth, (that) he may not permit  
 quam contumeliam remanere in victore exercitu,  
 any disgrace to remain in (their) victorious army,  
 neve hostes abire inultos." Ille efficit  
 nor the enemies to depart unrevenged." He executes (his)  
 mandata brevè. At Jugurtha impeditus munimento  
 commands shortly. But Jugurtha prevented by the fortification  
 castrorum, cùm alii præcipitarentur super  
 of the camps, when others (some) might be thrown-headlong upon  
 vallum, alii properantes in angustiis,  
 the rampart, others hastening in the narrow-passes [of the gates],  
 ipsi officerent sibi,  
 themselves might (did) obstruct to themselves, [obstructed one another],  
 multis amissis, recipit sese in munita loca.  
 many being lost, betakes himself into fortified places.  
 Postquam nox aderat, Metellus, negotio  
 After-that night was-at-hand, Metellus, the business  
 infecto, revortitur in castra cum exercitu.  
 being undone, returns into the camps with the army.  
 Igitur postero die, priùs quàm  
 Therefore in the following day, before that he might (did)  
 egrederetur ad-oppugnandum, jubet omnem  
 go-out to-assault, he orders all

equitatum agitare pro castris in eâ parte,  
the cavalry to be-active before the camps in that part,

quâ adventus regis erat: dispertit  
where the approach of the king was: he divides [he assigns]

portas, et proxima loca tribunis: deinde ipse  
the gates, and the nearest places to the tribunes: then himself

pergit ad oppidum, atque aggreditur murum, uti  
proceeds to the town, and attacks the wall, as

superiore die. Interim Jugurtha ex-occulto invadit  
on the former day. Meantime Jugurtha secretly attacks

nostros repente. Qui locati-fuerant in  
our (men) suddenly. (Those) who had been placed in

proximo territi paullisper  
the nearest (place) [to the enemy] affrighted a-little

perturbantur: reliqui cito subveniunt. Neque  
are confused: the rest quickly come-up. Nor

Numidæ quivissent resistere diutiùs, ni  
the Numidians might have been-able to withstand longer, unless

pedites permixti cum equitibus facerent  
[their] infantry mingled with the cavalry might (did) make

magnam cladem; quibus illi freti, non  
a great slaughter; to (on) which they relying, (began), not

utì solet equestri prælio, sequi, dein cedere,  
as is-usual in a cavalry fight, to follow, then to give-way,

sed concurrere advorsis equis, implicare, ac  
but to rush-together with adverse horses, to involve, and

perturbare aciem: ita, suis peditibus expeditis,  
to confuse the line: thus, their infantry being disentangled,

dare hostes pene victos.  
to give (to effect), the enemies nearly vanquished. [Thus the Romans

nearly vanquished were given to the infantry, disentangled from the

Certabatur magnâ vi eodem  
cavalry.] It was contended with great violence in the same

tempore apud Zamam. Ubi quisque legatus aut  
time at Zama. Where every lieutenant or

tribunus curabat, eò niti acerrumè,  
tribune did command, there (he proceeded) to strive most-vigorously,

neque alius habere spem magis in alio quam in  
nor another to have hope more in another than in

sese: que oppidani pariter agere, oppugnare,  
himself: and the townsmen equally (began) to act, to assault,

aut parare omnibus locis; alteri sauciare alteros  
or to prepare in all places; the others to wound the others

avidius quàm tegere semet; clamor  
more-eagerly than to protect themselves; the shout (was)

permixtus hortatione, lætitiâ, gemitu: item  
mingled with encouragement, with gladness, with groaning: also

strepitus armorum ferri ad cœlum: tela  
the rattling of arms to be carried to heaven (the sky): darts

volare utrimque. Sed illi qui defensabant mœnia,  
to fly on-either-side. But they who did defend the walls,

intenti prospectabant equestre prælium, ubi  
fixed did view-at-a-distance the cavalry fight, when

hostes modò remiserant pugnam paullulùm.  
the enemies only had relaxed the battle a little.

Animadverteres eos modò lætos, modò pavidos,  
Thou mayest perceive them one-time glad, one-time fearful,

uti quæque res erant Jugurthæ,  
as every affairs were to Jugurtha, [according as the contest

ac sicuti possent audiri aut  
was with Jugurtha,] and as they might be-able to be heard or

cerni à suis, alii monere, alii  
to be perceived by their-own, others (began) to advise, others

hortari, aut significare manu, aut niti  
to encourage, or to beckon with the hand, or to strain with (their)

corporibus; agitare huc et illuc, quasi  
bodies; to drive hither and thither, as-if

vitabundi aut jacentes tela. Quod ubi  
about-escaping or hurling darts. Which when

cognitum-est Mario, nam is curabat in  
it was known to Marius, for he did take-care (command) in

eâ parte, agere leniùs consulto, ac simulare  
that part, (he began) to act more-gently by design, and to pretend

diffidentiam rei: pati Numidas  
a distrust of the affair: to allow the Numidians [in the town]

visere                      prælium regis sine tumultu.  
to go-to-see [to look at] the battle of the king without confusion.

Ita illis adstrictis                      studio suorum,  
Thus they being tied-down (engaged) with zeal of their-own (people),

[while they were thus intent, and taken up with their own people,]  
aggreditur murum repentè magnâ vi; et jam  
he attacks the wall suddenly with great force; and now

milites aggressi scalis ceperant jam propè  
the soldiers having attempted with ladders had taken now nearly

summa, cum oppidani concurrunt, ingerunt  
the highest (parts), when the townsmen rush-together, throw

lapides, ignem, præterea alia tela. Nostri  
stones, fire, besides other weapons. Our (men)

primò resistere; deinde ubi unæ atque alteræ  
first (began) to oppose; then when one and other

scalæ comminutæ (sunt), qui supersteterant  
ladders were broken-in-pieces, (those) who had stood-on (them)

afflicti-sunt; cæteri abeunt quisque quo modo  
were dashed-down; the rest depart every-one in what manner

potuere, pauci integri, magna pars confecti  
they were-able, few whole (unhurt), a great part spent

vulneribus. Deinde nox diremit prælium utrimque.  
with wounds. Then night dissolved the battle on-either-side.

Postquam Metellus videt                      inceptum frustra,  
After-that Metellus sees (the thing) undertaken in-vain,

neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham facere  
nor the town to be taken, nor Jugurtha to make

pugnam nisi ex insidiis, aut suo loco;  
battle unless out-of ambushes, or in his-own (chosen) place;

et jam æstatem esse exactam, discedit ab Zamâ;  
and now the summer to be spent, he departs from Zama;

et imponit præsidia in iis urbibus, quæ defecerant  
and places garrisons in those cities, which had revolted

ab se, quæ munitæ-erant satis loco aut  
from himself, and had been fortified sufficiently by the place or

mœnibus. Collocat cæterum exercitum in provinciam  
by walls. He places the rest-of the army into the province



quæ est proxuma Numidiæ, gratiâ  
 which [is] next to Numidia, by favour (for the sake)  
 hiemandi. Neque concedit id tempus quieti aut  
 of wintering. Nor does he grant that time to rest or  
 luxuriæ ex more aliorum; sed quoniam  
 luxury according-to the custom of others; but since  
 bellum procedebat parum armis, parat tendere  
 the war did succeed little by arms, he prepares to stretch  
 insidias regi per amicos, et uti  
 snares for the king by (his) friends, [the king's,] and to use  
 perfidiâ eorum pro armis. Igitur aggreditur  
 the treachery of them instead-of arms. Therefore he attacks  
 multis pollicitationibus Bomilcarem, qui fuerat  
 with many promises Bomilcar, who had been  
 Romæ cum Jugurthâ, et fugerat judicium inde,  
 at Rome with Jugurtha, and had escaped trial thence,  
 vadibus datis, clam de morte Massivæ;  
 sureties being given, secretly concerning the death of Massiva;  
 quòd erat maxuma copia fallendi per  
 because there was the greatest opportunity of deceiving through  
 maxumam amicitiam: ac efficit primò, uti  
 the greatest friendship: and he accomplishes first, that  
 veniat occultus ad se gratiâ colloquendi;  
 he may come concealed to himself for the sake of conferring;  
 deinde fide datâ, si tradidisset  
 then (his) faith (solemn promise) being given, if he might have delivered  
 Jugurtham vivum aut necatum sibi, fore,  
 Jugurtha alive or killed to himself, to be about-to-be,  
 ut senatus concederet impunitatem et omnia sua  
 that the senate would grant forgiveness and all his  
 illi; persuadet facilè Numidæ, cùm  
 (possessions) to him; he persuades easily to the Numidian, as-well  
 infido ingenio,  
 with faithless disposition, [as well on account of his faithless disposition,]  
 tum metuenti ne, si pax fieret cum Romanis,  
 then (as) fearing lest, if peace might be made with the Romans,  
 ipse traderetur ad supplicium per conditiones.  
 himself might be delivered to punishment by the conditions.

Ubi primùm fuit opportunum, is accedit Jugurtham  
 When first it was convenient, he approaches Jugurtha  
 anxious, ac miserantem suas fortunas, monet,  
 solicitous, and lamenting his-own fortunes, he advises,  
 atque lacrumans obtestatur uti provideat  
 and weeping beseeches (him), that he may provide  
 aliquando sibi que liberis, et genti  
 some-time for himself and children, and for the nation  
 Numidarum merenti optumò; sese  
 of the Numidians deserving very-well (of him); themselves  
 victos (esse) omnibus præliis, agrum vastatum,  
 to have been conquered in all the battles, the land ravaged,  
 multos mortales captos, occisos; opes regni  
 many persons taken, [or] slain; the resources of the kingdom  
 comminutas-esse; jam et virtutem militum  
 to have been broken; already both the valour of (his) soldiers  
 et fortunam tentatam (esse) sæpè satis :  
 and fortune to have been tried often enough : he may (should)  
 caveat, ne, illo cunctante, Numidæ consulant  
 beware, lest, [he hesitating], the Numidians may consult  
 sibi. Impellit animum regis his atque  
 for themselves. He impels the mind of the king by these and  
 talibus aliis ad deditionem. Legati  
 by such other (reasonings) to a surrender. Ambassadors  
 mittuntur ad imperatorem, qui dicerent Jugurtham  
 are sent to the general, who should say Jugurtha  
 facturum imperata, ac tradere sese que  
 about-to-do (the things) ordered, and to deliver himself and  
 suum regnum in fidem illius sine ullâ pactione.  
 his kingdom unto the faith of him without any covenant.  
 Metellus properè jubet cunctos senatorii ordinis  
 Metellus hastily orders all of senatorial rank  
 accersiri ex hibernis; habet concilium  
 to be sent-for out-of winter-quarters; he holds a council  
 eorum, atque aliorum quos ducebat idoneos.  
 of those, and of others whom he did lead (think) proper.  
 Ita imperat Jugurthæ more majorum  
 Thus he orders to Jugurtha in the manner of (our) ancestors

ex decreto concilii, per legatos,  
 according-to the decree of the council, by the ambassadors, (to furnish)  
 ducenta millia pondo argenti, omnes  
 two hundred thousands pounds-weight of silver, all (his)  
 elephantos, aliquantum equorum et armorum. Quæ  
 elephants, some-what of horses and of arms. Which  
 postquam facta-sunt sine morâ, jubet  
 (things) after-that they were done without delay, he orders  
 omnes perfugas adduci vinctos. Magna pars  
 all the deserters to be brought-up bound. A great part  
 eorum adducti (sunt) uti jussum-erat; pauci  
 of them were brought-up as it had been ordered; a few  
 abierant in Mauritaniam ad regem Bocchum,  
 had gone-away into Mauritania to king Bocchus,  
 cùm deditio primùm cœpit. Igitur Jugurtha, ubi  
 when the surrender first began. Therefore Jugurtha, when  
 spoliatus-est armis, que viris, et pecuniâ, cùm  
 he was stripped-of arms, and men, and money, when  
 ipse vocaretur ad Tisidium imperandum,  
 himself might be (was) called to Tisidium to-be-commanded,  
 rursus cœpit flectere suum animum, et timere  
 again began to bend (change) his mind, and to fear  
 digna ex malâ conscientiâ. Denique,  
 worthy (deserved things) from an evil consciousness. Finally,  
 multis diebus consumptis per dubitationem, cùm  
 many days being spent through (in) doubt, when  
 modò duceret omnia potiora  
 one time he might (did) deem all (things) better (than)  
 bello, tædio advorsarum rerum; interdum ipse  
 war, from weariness of adverse things; sometimes he  
 reputaret, quam gravis casus ex regno  
 might (did) revolve, how heavy the fall from a kingdom  
 in servitutem foret; multis que magnis  
 into slavery might be (was); many and great  
 præsidiis perditis nequidquam,  
 protections being lost [by what he had surrendered] in-vain,  
 sumit bellum de-integro. Senatus, Romæ,  
 he takes (begins) war anew. [The senate, at Rome,

consultus de provinciis, decreverat Numidiam  
having consulted about the provinces, had decreed Numidia

Metello. Per idem tempus haruspex  
to Metellus.] Through (about) the same time a soothsayer

dixerat magna atque mirabilia portendi C.  
had said great and wonderful (things) to be foreboded to Caius

Mario fortè supplicanti diis per hostias;  
Marius by chance praying to the gods by victims; [sacrificing

proinde fretus diis, ageret quæ  
to the gods;] wherefore relying on the gods, he might act what

agitabat animo; experiretur fortunam  
he did revolve in mind; he might try fortune

quàm-sæpissumè; cuncta eventura  
as-often-as-possible; all (things to be) about-to-happen

prosperè. At ingens cupido consulatûs exagitabat  
prosperously. But a great desire of the consulship did harass

illum jam antea; ad quem capiundum  
(excite) him already before; to which to-be-taken (to obtain

omnia alia erant abundè, præter  
which) all other (qualities) were abundantly, except

vetustatem familiæ; industria, probitas, magna  
the antiquity of (his) family; industry, honesty, a great

scientia militiæ, ingens animus belli,  
knowledge of warfare, a great mind (spirit) of (in) war,

modicus domi, victor lubidinis, et divitiarum,  
moderate of (at) home, a conqueror of passion, and of riches,

tantummodò avidus gloriæ. Sed is natus (est) et  
only greedy of glory. But he was born and

altus omnem pueritiam Arpini, ubi  
reared (during) all (his) boyhood of (at) Arpinum, when

primùm ætas fuit patiens militiæ, exercuit sese  
first (his) age was enduring of warfare, he exercised himself

stipendiis, faciundis, non Græcâ facundiâ,  
in pays (military services) to-be-made, not in Greek eloquence,

neque urbanis munditiis; ita integrum ingenium  
nor in polite refinements; thus (his) sound ability

adolevit brevè inter bonas artes. Ergo ubi  
grew-up shortly among good arts (pursuits). Therefore when

primùm petit militarem tribunatum à populo,  
first he seeks a military tribuneship from the people,

plerisque ignorantibus faciem ejus, notus  
most (of them) not-knowing the face of him, being known

facilè, declaratur  
easily, [but being known by name, as a brave soldier,] he is declared

per omnes tribus. Deinde peperit alium,  
by all the tribes. Afterwards he begot (procured) another

post alium sibi ab eo magistratu;  
(one magistracy), after another for himself from that magistracy;

que agitabat eo modo semper in potestatibus,  
and he did manage in that manner always in (his) commands,

ut haberetur dignus ampliore  
that he might be (was) held worthy with more-ample (higher

quàm gerebat. Tamen is  
authority) than he did carry-on [possessed]. However he (though)

talis vir ad id locorum audebat non  
such a man to that of places (up to that time) did dare not

adpetere consulatum, (nam postea datus-est  
to solicit the consulship, (for afterwards he was given

præceps ambitione). Etiam tum  
(precipitated) headlong by ambition). Even then

plebes alios magistratus; nobilitas  
the common-people (did bestow) other magistracies; the nobility

tradebat consulatum per manus inter se.  
did deliver the consulship through (their) hands among themselves.

Nemo novus erat tam clarus, neque tam  
No-one new (man) was so illustrious, nor so

egregiis factis, quin is haberetur  
with excellent deeds, but-that he might be (was) held

indignus illo honore, et quasi pollutus.  
unworthy with that honour, and as-if defiled. [And as if he

Igitur, ubi Marius videt dicta  
would defile it.] Therefore, when Marius sees the sayings

haruspis intendere eòdem, quò cupido  
of the soothsayer to tend to the same (point), whither the desire

animi hortabatur, rogat missionem ab  
of (his) mind did encourage, he asks (his) discharge from



Metello gratiâ petundi; cui  
 Metellus by favour (for the sake) of seeking (it); to whom  
 quamquam virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda  
 although valour, glory, and other (things) to-be-wished  
 bonis superabant, tamen contemptor  
 by good (men) did abound, however a despiser (scornful)  
 animus, et superbia, commune malum nobilitatis,  
 mind, and pride, the common evil of the nobility,  
 inerat. Itaque commotus primùm  
 was-in (him). Therefore being moved (surprised) first  
 insolitâ re, mirari consilium ejus; et  
 by the unusual thing, (he began) to wonder-at the design of him; and  
 monere quasi per amicitiam “ne-inciperet  
 to advise (him) as-if through friendship (that) “he should not-begin  
 tam prava, neu gereret animum  
 (things) so corrupt, [so erroneous,] nor should carry a spirit  
 super fortunam: omnia non esse cupienda  
 above (his) fortune: all (things) not to be to-be-desired  
 omnibus; suas res debere placere  
 to (by) all; his-own things to owe (ought) to please  
 satis illi:  
 sufficiently to him: [that he ought to be satisfied with his station:]  
 postremò, caveret petere id à Romano populo,  
 lastly, he should beware to seek that from the Roman people,  
 quod negaretur jure illi.” Postquam dixit hæc,  
 which might be denied by right to him.” After-that he said these,  
 atque talia alia, neque animus Marii flectitur,  
 and such other (advices), neither the mind of Marius is bent,  
 respondit, sese facturum quæ peteret, ubi  
 he answers, himself about-to-do what he might (did) ask, when  
 primùm potuisset per publica negotia.  
 first he might have been-able by the public affairs. [As soon  
 as public affairs would permit.] Ac fertur dixisse  
 And he is reported to have said  
 postea sæpiùs postulanti eadem.  
 afterwards (to him) oftener requesting the same (things).  
 “Ne-festinet abire, illum petiturum  
 “He should not-hasten to depart, him about-to-seek [that he would

consulatum maturè satis cum suo filio.”  
 seek] the consulship early enough with his-own son.”

Is militabat eo tempore contubernio  
 He (the son) did serve in that time in the fellowship of (his)

patris ibidem, natus circiter viginti annos; quæ  
 father there, born about twenty years; which

res accenderat Marium vehementer, cùm pro  
 thing had inflamed Marius violently, as-well for

honore, quem affectabat, tùm contra Metellum.  
 the honour, which he did aim-at, then (as) against Metellus.

Ita grassari, cupidine atque irâ, pessumis  
 Thus (he began) to proceed, by desire and by anger, the worst

consultoribus: neque abstinere ullo facto, neque  
 advisers: nor to refrain from any deed, nor

dicto, quod foret modò ambitiosum,  
 saying, which might be only ambitious, [by which he might

habere milites, quibus præerat in  
 gain popularity,] to have the soldiers, to whom he was-over in

hibernis, laxiore imperio quàm antea:  
 the winter-quarters, in more-remiss command than before:

loqui criminosè, et simul magnificè, de  
 to speak censuringly, and at-the-same-time boastingly, about

bello, apud negotiatores, quorum erat magna  
 the war, among the merchants, of whom there was a great

multitudo Uticæ: “Dimidia pars exercitûs  
 multitude of (at) Utica: “If the half part of the army might be

permitteretur sibi, habiturum Jugurtham  
 (were) granted to himself, (to be) about-to-have Jugurtha

in catenis paucis diebus: trahi consultò ab  
 in chains in a few days: to be protracted designedly by

imperatore, quòd inanis homo, et regiæ  
 the commander, because the empty (vain) man, and of royal

superbiæ, gauderet nimis imperio.” Omnia  
 pride, might (did) rejoice too-much in command.” All

quæ videbantur illis firmiora eò, quòd  
 which (sayings) did seem to them more-sure therefore, because

corruperant familiares res  
 they had injured (their) family affairs (their property)  
 diuturnitate belli.  
 by the length of the war.

Præterea, quidam Numida, nomine Gauda, filius  
 Besides, a certain Numidian, by name Gauda, a son  
 Manastabalis, nepos Masinissæ, erat in nostro  
 of Manastabal, grandson of Masinissa, was in our  
 exercitu; quem Micipsa scripserat secundum  
 army; whom Micipsa had written (appointed) second  
 hæredem testamento, confectus morbis, et ob  
 heir by will, spent by disease, and on-account-of  
 eam causam mente paullum imminuta.  
 that cause with a mind a little diminished (impaired).

Cui petenti, Metellus negaverat utrumque,  
 To whom requesting (them), Metellus had denied each  
 uti poneret sellam juxtâ  
 (of the following), that he might place (his) chair near (him)

more regum, item postea turmam Romanorum  
 in the manner of kings, also afterwards a troop of Roman

equitum causâ custodiæ: honorem, quòd  
 horsemen by cause (for the sake) of guard: the honour, because

foret modo eorum quos Romanus populus  
 it might be (was) in the manner of those whom the Roman people

appellavisset reges: præsidium, quòd  
 might have (had) called kings: the guard, because

foret contumeliosum in eos, si Romani equites  
 it might be insulting unto them, if Roman horsemen

traderentur satellites Numidæ. Marius  
 should be delivered (as) guards to a Numidian. Marius

aggreditur hunc anxium, atque hortatur uti petat  
 accosts him anxious, and encourages that he may seek

pœnas contumeliarum in imperatorem,  
 punishments of the insults against the commander, [received from

cum suo auxilio: extollit secundâ  
 the commander,] with his assistance: he extols with favourable

oratione hominem animo parum-valido ob  
 speech the man with a mind not-strong on-account-of

morbos: "Illum esse ingentem virum, nepotem  
diseases: "Him to be a great man, grandson

Masinissæ; si Jugurtha foret captus aut  
of Masinissa; if Jugurtha might be (were) taken or

occisus, habiturum imperium  
slain (to be) about-to-have [he would have] the government

Numidiæ sine morâ; adeò id posse evenire  
of Numidia without delay; thus that to be-able to happen

maturè si ipse  
speedily, [that indeed this might speedily happen,] if himself

missus-foret consul ad id bellum."  
might have (had) been sent (as) consul to that war."

Itaque ipse impellit et illum et Romanos equites,  
Therefore he impels both him and the Roman knights,

milites et negotiatores, alios; spes pacis  
soldiers and merchants, (and) others; the hope of peace (urges)

plerosque, uti scribant asperè Romam ad  
most, that they may write roughly (severely) to Rome to

suos necessarios in Metellum de bello; poscant  
their acquaintances against Metellus about the war; may request

Marium imperatorem. Sic consulatus petebatur  
Marius (as) commander. Thus the consulship was sought

illi à multis mortalibus honestissimâ suffragatione.  
for him by many mortals with most-honourable canvass.

Simul nobilitate fusâ  
At-the-same-time the nobility being poured (defeated) [being made of

per Mamiliam legem, eâ  
equal importance in voting,] by the Mamilian law, at that

tempestate plebes extollebat novos.  
time the common-people did extol [to office] new (men).

Ita cuncta procedere Mario. Interim  
Thus all (things) (began) to succeed for Marius. Mean-time

Jugurtha, deditione omissâ, postquam incipit  
Jugurtha, the surrender being omitted, after-that he commences

bellum parare omnia cum magnâ curâ,  
the war (began) to prepare all (things) with great care,

festinare cogere exercitum; affectare,  
to hasten to collect an army; to aim-at [to recover]

civitates quæ defecerant ab se, formidine, aut  
the cities which had revolted from himself, by terror, or  
ostentando præmia, communire suos locos; reficere,  
by displaying rewards, to fortify his-own places; to repair,  
aut commercari arma, tela, que alia, quæ  
or to purchase arms, weapons, and other (things), which  
amiserat spe pacis; allicere servitia  
he had lost in the hope of peace; to entice the slaveries (slaves)  
Romanorum, et tentare eos ipsos qui erant  
of the Romans, and to try those (persons) themselves who were  
in præsidiis, pecuniâ; pati nihil prorsus  
in the garrisons, by money; to suffer nothing altogether  
intactum, neque quietum, agitare cuncta.  
untouched, nor tranquil, to disturb all (things).  
Igitur Vaccenses, principes civitatis quò Metellus  
Therefore the Vaccensian, chiefs of the state where Metellus  
imposuerat præsidium initio, Jugurthâ  
had placed a garrison in the beginning, Jugurtha  
pacificante, fatigati suppliciis regis, neque  
making-peace, being importuned by the entreaties of the king, neither  
alienati antea voluntate, conjurant inter se; nam  
alienated before in will, conspire among themselves; for  
vulgus, uti solet, plerumque, et maxumè  
the common-people, as is usual, generally, and chiefly (that)  
Numidarum, erat, mobili ingenio, seditiosum  
of the Numidians, was, with changeable disposition, seditious  
atque discordiosum, cupidum novarum rerum,  
and turbulent, desirous of new things (revolution),  
advorsum quieti et otio: dein, rebus compositis  
inimical to rest and to leisure: then, things being arranged  
inter se, constituunt in tertium diem, quòd  
between themselves, they appoint on the third day, because  
is festus que celebratus per omnem Africam,  
that (being) festive and celebrated through all Africa,  
ostentabat ludum et lasciviam magis quàm  
did display play and wantonness more than  
formidinem. Sed ubi tempus fuit, invitant alius  
fear. But when the time was, they invite the other



alium suas domos, centuriones que militares  
 (the one) another (to) their houses, the centurions and military  
 tribunos, et T. Turpilium Silanum præfectum ipsum  
 tribunes, and Titus Turpilius Silanus the governor himself  
 oppidi: obtruncant omnes eos inter epulas, præter  
 of the town: they massacre all those among the feasts, except  
 Turpilium: postea aggrediuntur milites palantes,  
 Turpilius: afterwards they attack the soldiers wandering,  
 inermes, ac sine imperio, quippe in tali die.  
 unarmed, and without command, inasmuch-as on such a day.

Plebes facit idem, pars  
 [As became such a day.] The common-people do the same, part  
 edocti ab nobilitate, alii incitati studio talium  
 instructed by the nobility, others urged from zeal of such  
 rerum, quibus ignorantibus acta, que consilium,  
 things, to whom not-knowing (their) acts, and design,  
 tumultus ipse, et novæ res, placebant satis.  
 the confusion itself, and new things, did please sufficiently.  
 Romani milites, improvise metu, incerti que  
 The Roman soldiers, from the sudden fear, doubtful and  
 ignari quid facerent potissimum, trepidare ad  
 ignorant what they should do chiefly, (began) to hurry to  
 arcem oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant:  
 the citadel of the town, where the standards and shields were:  
 præsidium hostium, portæ clausæ antè  
 a guard of the enemies, (and) the gates being shut before  
 prohibebant fugam: ad hoc mulieres que  
 did hinder (their) flight: to this (besides) the women and  
 pueri mittere certatim pro tectis  
 boys (began) to send (cast) emulously before the roofs  
 ædificiorum saxa, et alia, quæ locus præbebat.  
 of the buildings stones, and other (things), which the place did afford.  
 Ita anceps malum neque caveri,  
 Thus the double evil (could) neither be guarded-against,  
 neque posse resisti infirmissimo generi  
 nor (did it appear) to be able to be opposed to the weakest sort  
 à fortissimis:  
 by the bravest: [nor could the bravest resist the weakest portion of

boni que mali, strenui et imbelles,  
 mankind:] the good and the bad, the active and the unwarlike,  
 inulti, obtruncati (sunt) juxtâ. In eâ tantâ  
 unrevenged, were slaughtered alike. In that so-great

asperitate, Numidis sævissumis, et  
 roughness (misfortune), the Numidians (being) most-cruel, and

oppido clauso undique, Turpilius præfectus, unus  
 the town being shut on-every-side, Turpilius the governor, one

ex omnibus Italicis profugit intactus :  
 (alone) out-of all the Italians escaped untouched :

comperimus parùm, an id evenerit ita  
 we have discovered little, whether that may have happened so

misericiordiâ hospitis, an pactione, an  
 from the compassion of (his) host, or by agreement, or

casu : nisi, quia in tanto malo turpis vita  
 by chance : unless (but), because in so-great an evil a base life

fuit potior integrâ famâ, videtur  
 was better (than) sound fame (character), he seems

improbis que intestabilis. Postquam Metellus  
 villainous and detestable. After-that Metellus

comperit de rebus actis Vaccae, moestus  
 discovered about the things done at Vacca, sorrowful

abit paullisper è conspectu :  
 he departs a little-while out-of sight (from public) :

deinde ubi ira et ægritudo permista-sunt,  
 afterwards when anger and sorrow were-mingled,

festinat ire ultum injurias cum maxumâ curâ.  
 he hastens to go to avenge the injuries with the greatest care.

Educit legionem cum quâ hiemabat, et  
 He leads-out the legion with which he did winter, and

quàm-plurimos Numidas equites potest, expeditos,  
 as-many Numidian cavalry he is-able, prepared,

cum occasu solis : et  
 [both disencumbered], with [at] the setting of the sun : and

posterâ die circiter tertiam horam pervenit  
 in the following day about the third hour he arrives

in quamdam planitiem, circumventam locis paullò  
 into a certain plain, surrounded with places a little

superioribus. Ibi docet milites, fessos  
higher. There he teaches (informs) the soldiers, fatigued

magnitudine itineris, et jam abnuentes omnia,  
by the greatness of the march, and now refusing all (things),

oppidum Vaccam abesse non ampliùs  
[that] the town Vacca to be distant [is distant] not more

mille passuum: decere illos  
(than) a thousand of paces: to become [that it became] them

pati reliquum laborem æquo animo, dum  
to suffer the rest (remaining) labour with even mind, until

caperent poenas pro suis civibus, fortissimis  
they might take penalties for their-own citizens, very-brave

atque miserrimis viris. Præterea ostendat  
and most-wretched men. Besides he points-out

prædam benignè.  
the plunder liberally. [He liberally grants them the plunder of the

Sic animis eorum arrectis, jubet  
place.] Thus the minds (spirits) of them being raised, he orders

equites ire in primo, latè, pedites  
the cavalry to go in front, extended, the infantry

quàm-arctissimè, et occultare signa. Ubi  
as-closely-as-possible, and to conceal the standards. When

Vaccenses animadvertère exercitum pergere  
the Vaccenses perceived the army to proceed

advorsum se, rati primò esse  
against themselves, having thought (it) at-first to be

Metellum, uti res erat, clausere portas: deinde  
Metellus, as the thing was, they shut the gates: then

ubi vident agros neque vastari, et eos qui  
when they see the lands neither to be ravaged, and those who

aderant primi Numidas equites; arbitrati  
were present first (to be) Numidian cavalry; having thought (it)

rursum Jugurtham, procedunt obvii  
again (to be) Jugurtha, they proceed opposite (towards him)

cum magno gaudio. Equites que pedites, signo  
with great joy. The cavalry and infantry, a signal

dato repentè, alii cædere  
being given suddenly, others (some began) to slaughter

vulgum effusum oppido; alii festinare  
the common-people poured-forth from the town; others to hasten

ad portas: pars capere turrets: ira, atque spes  
to the gates: part to take the towers: anger, and the hope

prædæ posse plùs quàm lassitudo. Ita  
of booty to be-able (to do) more than fatigue. Thus

Vaccenses lætati (sunt) modò biduum ex  
the Vaccenses rejoiced only two-days from (their)

perfidia: magna et opulens civitas fuit cuncta  
treachery: the great and wealthy city was all

pœnæ aut prædæ.  
for punishment or for booty. [Was given up to punishment or booty.]

Turpilius, quem præfectum oppidi ostendimus  
Turpilius, whom (being) governor of the town we have shown

suprà profugisse unum ex omnibus,  
above to have escaped one (alone) out-of all,

jussus à Metello dicere causam;  
being commanded by Metellus to say (plead his) cause;

postquam expurgat sese parùm, condemnatus que  
after-that he clears himself little, being condemned and

verberatus, solvit pœnas capite; nam  
scourged, he loosed (paid) penalties by (his) head; [life;] for

is erat civis ex Latio. Per idem  
he was a citizen out-of Latium. Through (during) the same

tempus Bomilcar, impulsu cujus Jugurtha  
time Bomilcar, by the instigation of whom Jugurtha

inceperat deditionem, quam deseruit metu,  
had begun the surrender, which he abandoned from fear,

suspectus regi, et ipse suspiciens eum,  
being suspected to (by) the king, and he suspecting him, (began)

cupere novas res; quærere dolum ad  
to desire new things (revolution); to seek a stratagem to

perniciem ejus; fatigare animum diu  
the destruction of him [Jugurtha]; to weary (his) mind by-day

que noctu; denique, tentando omnia, adjungit  
and by-night; finally, by trying all (things), he unites (as)

socium sibi Nabdalsam, nobilem hominem,  
an associate to himself Nabdalsa, a noble man,

clarum magnis opibus, que acceptum suis  
illustrious by great riches, and received (popular) to his-own

popularibus: qui solitus-erat plerumque ductare  
countrymen: who had been accustomed generally to lead

exercitum seorsum ab rege, et exsequi omnes  
an army apart from the king, and to execute all

res, quæ superaverant Jugurthæ, fesso aut  
things, which had remained-over to Jugurtha, fatigued or

adstricto majoribus; ex quo gloria que opes  
bound-down to greater (affairs); from which glory and riches

inventæ illi. Igitur dies statuitur insidiis  
were found to (by) him. Therefore a day is appointed for the snares

consilio utriusque: placuit cætera parari  
by the plan of each: it pleased (them) the rest to be prepared

ex tempore, uti res posceret. Nabdalsa  
according-to time, as the thing might demand. Nabdalsa

profectus (est) ad exercitum, quem jussus habebat  
set-out to the army, which being ordered he did have

inter hiberna Romanorum, ne hostibus  
between (near) the winter-quarters of the Romans, lest the enemies

inultis ager vastaretur.  
(being) unrevenged the land might be ravaged. [Lest the land might

Postquam, is, percussus  
be ravaged by the enemy with impunity.] After-that, he, struck

magnitudine facinoris, venit non ad tempus; que  
by the greatness of the crime, came not to time; and

metus impediēbat rem: Bomilcar, simul cupidus  
fear did hinder the thing: Bomilcar, at-the-same-time desirous

patrandi incepta, et anxius timore  
of perpetrating his undertakings, and anxious from the fear of (his)

socii, ne vetere consilio omissio, quæreret  
associate, lest the old design being laid-aside, he might seek

novum; mittit letteras ad eum per fideles  
a new (one); sends letters (a letter) to him by faithful

homines: in queis accusare mollitiem que  
men: in which (he began) to accuse the softness and

socordiam viri; testari Deos, per quos  
inactivity of the man; to attest the Gods, through whom



juravisset; monere, ne-converteret  
 he might have (had) sworn; to advise, (that) he should not-turn

præmia Metelli in pestem: exitium  
 the rewards of Metellus into (his) plague (ruin): destruction

adesse Jugurthæ; cæterùm id modò agitari,  
 to be at-hand to Jugurtha; but that now to be discussed,

ne periret suâ virtute, an Metelli:  
 whether he might perish by his valour, or (that) of Metellus:

proinde reputaret cum suo animo,  
 wherefore he should revolve with his-own mind, (whether)

mallet præmia an cruciatum. Sed cùm hæ  
 he might prefer rewards or torture. But when these

litteræ allatæ (sunt), Nabdalsa, fessus, corpore  
 letters were brought, Nabdalsa, fatigued, (his) body

exercito, fortè quiescebat in lecto; ubi, verbis  
 being exercised, by-chance did rest in a bed; where, the words

Bomilcaris cognitis, cura, deinde somnus cepit,  
 of Bomilear being known, anxiety, then sleep took

utì solet ægrum animum. Erat quidam  
 (seized him), as it is-wont a sick mind. There was a certain

Numida ei, fidus curator negotiorum, que  
 Numidian to him, a faithful manager of (his) affairs, and

acceptus, et particeps omnium consiliorum,  
 received (approved), and a partaker of all (his) designs,

nisi novissumi. Qui postquam, audivit litteras  
 unless of the newest (last). Who after-that, he heard the letters

allatas, ratus, ex consuetudine,  
 (letter) being brought, having thought, according-to custom,

opus esse operâ, aut suo ingenio, introiit  
 need to be with (his) assistance, or his understanding, entered

in tabernaculum: illo dormiente, sumit ac perlegit  
 into the tent: he sleeping, he takes and reads-through

epistolam positam temerè super caput in pulvino:  
 the letter placed rashly above (his) head on the pillow:

dein, insidiis cognitis, pergît properè ad regem.  
 then, the snares being known, he proceeds quickly to the king.

Nabdalsa experrectus paullo pòst, ubi reperit  
 Nabdalsa being awaked a little after, when he found

neque epistolam, et cognovit omnem rem, uti  
neither the letter, and knew all the thing, as

acta-erat,  
it had been transacted, [and was informed of what had taken place,]

primò conatus (est) persequi indicem; postquam id  
at-first endeavoured to pursue the informer; after-that that

fuit frustrà, accedit Jugurtham gratiâ  
was in-vain, he approaches Jugurtha by favour (for the sake)

placandi: præventum perfidiâ  
of appeasing (him): (he says) to have been prevented by the treachery

sui clientis, facere, quæ ipse paravisset:  
of his dependant, to do, what (things) he might have prepared

lacrumans, "obtestatur per amicitiam,  
(had intended): weeping, "he beseeches (him) by friendship,

que per sua acta fideliter antea,  
and by his (deeds) transacted faithfully before, (that)

ne-haberet sese suspectum super tali scelere."  
he would not-have himself suspected about such guilt."

Rex respondit placidè ad ea, aliter atque  
The king answered calmly to those (words), otherwise and

gerebat animo. Bomilcare, que multis aliis,  
(than) he did bear in mind. Bomilcar, and many others,

quos cognoverat socios insidiarum, interfectis,  
whom he had known associates of the snares, being slain,

oppresserat iram, ne qua seditio oriretur ex  
he had repressed (his) wrath, lest any sedition might arise out-of

eo negotio. Neque fuit ulla dies aut nox quieta  
that business. Neither was any day or night tranquil

Jugurthæ post id locorum: neque  
to Jugurtha after that of places (that circumstance): neither (was

credere satis cuiquam loco, neque  
he able) to believe (trust) sufficiently to any place, nor

mortali, neque tempori: metuere cives que  
person, nor time: (he began) to fear citizens and

hostes juxtà: circumspectare omnia, et pavescere  
enemies alike: to look-around-on all (things), and to fear

omni strepitu: requiescere noctu alio atque  
in every noise: to rest by night in another (one) and

alio loco,  
 another place, [he continually changed his place of repose at night,]  
 contra regium decus: interdum excitus somno,  
 against royal propriety: sometimes roused from sleep, (his)  
 armis arreptis, facere tumultum: exagitari ita  
 arms being snatched-up, to make a tumult: to be harassed thus  
 formidine, quasi vecordiâ. Igitur, ubi Metellus  
 by fear, as-if by insanity. Therefore, when Metellus  
 cognovit ex perfugis de casu Bomilcaris,  
 knew from deserters concerning the calamity of Bomilcar,  
 et indicio patefacto, parat que festinat  
 and the information being laid-open, he prepares and hastens  
 cuncta rursus tamquam ad integrum bellum.  
 all (things) again as-if to a fresh war.  
 Dimittit Marium domum, fatigantem de  
 He dismisses Marius home, wearying (him) about (his)  
 profectione, et simul invitum et offensum,  
 departure, and at-the-same-time unwilling and offended,  
 ratus parum idoneum sibi. Et plebes  
 having thought (him) little useful for himself. And the common-people  
 Romæ, litteris quæ missæ-erant de Metello ac  
 at Rome, the letters which had been sent about Metellus and  
 Mario cognitis, acceperant volenti animo  
 Marius being known, had received (them) with a willing mind  
 de ambobus. Nobilitas, quæ fuerat antea  
 concerning both. (His) nobility, which had been before  
 decori, esse invidiæ imperatori: at humilitas  
 for honour, (began) to be for envy to the commander: but humbleness  
 generis addiderat favorem illi alteri: cæterum  
 of race had added favour to that other: but [moreover]  
 studia partium magis quam sua bona aut mala  
 the zeals of parties more than their-own good or bad  
 moderata in utroque. Præterea, seditiosi  
 (qualities) directed in each. Besides, seditious  
 magistratus exagitare vulgum,  
 magistrates (began) to harass [agitate] the common-people,  
 arcessere Metellum capitis omnibus concionibus,  
 to impeach Metellus of head (capitally) in all harangues,

celebrare virtutem Marii in majus.  
to celebrate the valour of Marius into greater (too highly).

Denique, plebes accensa (est) sic, uti opifices  
Finally, the common-people was inflamed so, that the artisans

que omnes agrestes, quorum res que fides  
and all the rustics, whose thing (property) and credit

erant sitæ in manibus,  
were placed in (their) hands, [who depended on their daily work for

support,] (their) operibus relictis, frequentarent  
works being left, might (did) frequent

Marium, et ducerent sua necessaria  
Marius, and might lead (did deem) their-own necessary (matters)

post honorem illius.  
after the honour of him. [And postponed their own necessary affairs

Ita nobilitate percussâ,  
to the honour of Marius.] Thus the nobility being struck, [defeated],

consulatus mandatur novo homini post multas  
the consulship is committed to a new man after many

tempestates: et postea frequens populus rogatus  
epochs: and afterwards a numerous people being asked

à Manlio Mantino, tribuno plebis, quem  
by Manlius Mantinus, tribune of the common-people, whom it (they)

vellet gerere bellum cum Jugurthâ, jussit  
might will to carry-on the war with Jugurtha, ordered

Marium. Sed senatus decreverat Numidiam  
Marius. But the senate had decreed Numidia

Metello; ea res fuit frustra. Eodem tempore,  
to Metellus; that thing was in-vain. In the same time,

Jugurtha, varius que incertus, amicis amissis,  
Jugurtha, changeable and uncertain, (his) friends being lost,

plerosque quorum ipse necaverat, cæteri formidine;  
most of whom himself had killed, the rest from fear;

pars profugerant ad Romanos, alii ad regem  
part had fled to the Romans, others to king

Bocchum: cum bellum posset neque  
Bocchus: when the war might be (was) able neither

geri sine administris, et duceret  
to be carried-on without managers, and he might lead (did deem it)

periculosum experiri fidem novorum in tantâ  
dangerous to try the faith of new (ones) in so-great

perfidia veterum, agitabatur. Neque res neque  
treachery of the old, was harassed. Neither a thing nor

consilium, aut quisquam hominum placebat illi  
a plan, or any-one of men did please to him

satis: mutare itinera que præfectos  
sufficiently: (he began) to change (his) routes and governors

in-dies: modo pergere advorsum hostes interdum  
daily: one-time to proceed against the enemies sometimes

in solitudines: sæpè habere spem in fugâ, at paullo  
into deserts: often to have hope in flight, but a little

pòst in armis: dubitare an crederet minùs  
after in arms: to doubt whether he should believe (trust) less

virtuti an fidei popularium. Ita,  
to the valour or to the faith of (his) countrymen. Thus,

quòcunque intenderat, res erant advorsæ.  
wheresoever he had directed (his mind), things were adverse.

Sed inter eas moras, Metellus ostendit sese repentè  
But among those delays, Metellus shows himself suddenly

cum exercitu. Numidæ parati (sunt), que  
with (his) army. The Numidians were prepared, and

instructi pro tempore  
arrayed according-to the time [as well as the time and occasion

ab Jugurthâ: dein prælium incipitur. In  
would permit] by Jugurtha: then a battle is begun. In

quâ parte rex adfuit pugnae, ibi certatum (est)  
what part the king was-present to the battle, there it was contended

aliquamdiu: omnes cæteri milites ejus pulsi (sunt)  
some-time: all the rest-of the soldiers of him were repulsed

que fugati primo congressu. Romani potiti (sunt)  
and put-to-flight in the first encounter. The Romans possessed

signorum et armorum et aliquanto numero  
of the standards and arms and some number

hostium. Nam pedes magis quàm arma  
of the enemies. For (their) feet more than arms

tutata-sunt Numidas ferme in omnibus præliis.  
protected the Numidians almost in all the battles.



Jugurtha eâ fugâ modò diffidens impensiùs suis  
 Jugurtha in that flight now distrusting more-earnestly to his  
 rebus, pervenit cum perfugis et parte equitatûs  
 affairs, arrived with the deserters and part of the cavalry  
 in solitudines, dein Thalam, in magnum et  
 into deserts, then to Thala, into a great and  
 opulentum oppidum, ubi plerique thesauri, que  
 wealthy town, where most-of the treasures, and  
 multus cultus pueritiæ  
 much furniture of boyhood (relating to youthful instruction) of (his)  
 filiorum erat. Postquam quæ comperta-sunt  
 sons was. After-that which (things) were discovered  
 Metello, quamquam cognoverat arida  
 to (by) Metellus, although he had known dry (parched)  
 atque vasta loca esse inter Thalam que proximum  
 and desert places to be between Thala and the next  
 flumen, in spatio quinquaginta millium; tamen,  
 river, in a space of fifty miles; however  
 aggreditur supervadere omnes asperitates ac  
 he attempts to surmount all asperities (difficulties) and  
 etiam vincere naturam, spe belli patrandi,  
 even to overcome nature, in the hope of the war to-be-completed,  
 si potitus-foret ejus oppidi.  
 if he might have possessed [if he got possession] of that town.  
 Igitur, jubet omnia jumenta levare  
 Therefore, he orders all the beasts-of-burden to be lightened  
 sarcinis, nisi frumento decem dierum:  
 from the baggages, except corn of [for] ten days:  
 cæterùm utres modò, et alia idonea  
 but [moreover] bladders only, and other (things) proper  
 aquæ portari. Præterea conquirat plurimum  
 for water to be carried. Besides he seeks the most  
 domiti pecoris ex agris quàm potest,  
 of tamed cattle out-of the lands as he is-able, [he collects as  
 many tame cattle from the fields as he can,] que eò  
 imponit vasa cujusque modi, pleraque  
 he places the vessels of every manner (kind), most (of them)

ligna, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad  
wooden, gathered out-of the cottages of the Numidians. To

hoc imperat finitumis qui  
this (besides) he orders to the neighbouring (people) who

dederant se Metello post fugam regis,  
had surrendered themselves to Metellus after the flight of the king,

quisque portaret quum plurimum aquæ;  
(that) every-one should carry as-much-as-possible of water;

prædicit diem que locum ubi forent  
he appoints-before the day and place where they should-be

præstò. Ipse onerat jumenta ex flumine,  
at-hand. Himself loads the beasts-of-burden from the river,

quam aquam diximus suprâ esse proxumam  
which water we have said above to be nearest

oppido. Instructus eo modo proficiscitur ad  
to the town. Furnished in that manner he sets-out to

Thalam. Deinde ubi ventum-est ad id loci, quò  
Thala. Afterwards when it was come to that of place, where

præceperat Numidis; et castra posita-sunt  
he had instructed to the Numidians [to be]; and the camps were placed

que munita; tanta vis aquæ dicitur  
(pitched) and fortified; so-great a force (quantity) of water is said

missa repentè coelo, ut ea foret  
(to have been) sent suddenly from heaven, that that might be (was)

modo satis que super exercitui. Præterea  
now enough and above (more) for the army. Besides

commeatus amplior spe;  
(there was) provision more-abundant (than) hope; [than was hoped

quia Numidæ, sicuti plerique in novâ deditione,  
for;] because the Numidians, as most in a new surrender,

intenderant officia.  
had strained (their) offices. [Had exceeded what they were required

Cæterùm milites usi (sunt) religione magis  
to do.] But the soldiers used religion -more (than)

pluviâ, que ea res addidit multùm animis  
the rain, and that thing added much to the minds (spirits)

eorum; nam rati (sunt) sese esse curæ  
of them; for they imagined themselves to be for care

immortalibus Diis. Deinde perveniunt ad Thalam  
 to the immortal Gods. Afterwards they arrive at Thala  
 postero die, contra opinionem Jugurthæ.  
 on the following day, contrary-to the opinion of Jugurtha.  
 Oppidani, qui crediderant se munitos  
 The townsmen, who had believed themselves fortified  
 asperitate locorum, percussi magnâ atque  
 by the roughness of the places, struck by the great and  
 insolitâ re, parare bellum nihilo segniùs;  
 unusual thing, (began) to prepare war by nothing more-inactively;  
 nostri facere idem. Sed  
 [not the less on that account;] our (men) to do the same. But  
 rex jam credens nihil infectum Metello,  
 the king now believing nothing undone to (by) Metellus,  
 quippe qui industriâ vicerat omnia, arma,  
 inasmuch-as who by industry had vanquished all (things) arms,  
 tela, locos, tempora, denique naturam ipsam,  
 weapons, places, times (seasons), finally nature herself,  
 imperitantem cæteris, profugit noctu ex  
 ruling to the rest (of things), escaped by night out-of  
 oppido cum liberis, et magnâ parte pecuniæ;  
 the town with (his) children, and with a great part of the money;  
 neque moratus postea in ullo loco ampliùs  
 neither having delayed afterwards in any place more (than)  
 unâ die, aut unâ nocte, simulabat sese properare  
 one day, or one night, he did pretend himself to hasten  
 gratiâ negotii; cæterùm timebat  
 by favour (for the sake) of business; but he did fear  
 prodicionem, quam putabat posse vitare celeritate.  
 treachery, which he did think to be-able to avoid by speed.  
 Nam talia consilia capi per otium et  
 For (he knew) such counsels to be taken through leisure and  
 ex opportunitate. At ubi Metellus videt oppidanos  
 from opportunity. But when Metellus sees the townsmen  
 intentos prælio, simul oppidum munitum et  
 intent in the battle, at-the-same-time the town fortified both  
 operibus et loco, circumvenit mœnia vallo  
 by works and by the place, he surrounds the walls with a rampart

que fossâ. Deinde jubet agere vineas  
 and a ditch. Then he orders to act (put-in-action) mantelets  
 locis maxumè idoneis ex copiâ;  
 in the places most suitable according-to the opportunity;

[in such places, out of the whole number of places, that were most suitable

que jacere aggerem super eas, et  
 for them;] and to throw a mound above (beyond) those, and  
 turribus impositis super aggerem tutari opus et  
 towers being placed upon the mound to defend the work and  
 administros. Contra hæc oppidani

the managers (engineers). Against these (things) the townsmen (began)  
 festinare, parare; prorsus nihil fieri reliquum  
 to hasten, to prepare; altogether nothing to be made left

ab utrisque. Denique Romani  
 by each. [Nothing was left undone by each.] Finally the Romans

fatigati multo labore antè, que præliis, potiti (sunt)  
 wearied by much labour before, and battles, possessed

oppido modò, post quadraginta dies,  
 with the town [took the town] now, after forty days,

quàm ventum-erat eò; omnis præda  
 than (since) it had been come thither; all the booty

corrupta (est) à perfugis. Postquam ii vident  
 was destroyed by the deserters. After-that those see

murum feriri arietibus, que suas res  
 the wall to be struck by the (battering) rams, and their things

afflictas, comportant aurum atque  
 overthrown [and ruined], they carry the gold and

argentum et alia quæ decuntur prima  
 silver and other (things) which are deemed the first [most valu-

regiam domum; ibi, onerati vino et  
 able] (to) the royal house; there, loaded with wine and

epulis, corrumpunt que illa et domum, et semet  
 with feasts, they destroy both them and the house, and themselves

igni; et ipsi volentes pependêre eas pœnas,  
 by fire; and themselves willing paid those penalties,

quas victi metuerant ab hostibus. Sed  
 which being conquered they had feared from the enemies. But

pariter cum Thalâ captâ, legati  
 equally (at the same time) with Thala being taken, ambassadors  
 venerant ad Metellum ex oppido Lepti, orantes  
 had come to Metellus out-of the town Leptis, praying  
 uti mitteret præsidium que præfectum eò;  
 that he would send a garrison and a governor thither; [that]  
 quemdam Hamilcarem, nobilem, factiosum hominem  
 a certain Hamilcar, a noble, factious man  
 studere novis rebus; advorsum  
 to study for new things; [was exciting a revolution;] against  
 quem neque imperia magistratuum neque leges  
 whom neither the commands of the magistrates nor the laws  
 valerent; ni festinaret id, suam salutem,  
 might avail; unless he should hasten that, their-own safety,  
 socios illorum, fore in summo periculo.  
 the allies of them, to be about-to-be in the highest danger.  
 Nam Leptitani jam-inde à principio Jugurthini  
 For the Leptitani ever-since from the beginning of the Jugurthine  
 belli miserant ad consulem Bestiam, et postea  
 war had sent to the consul Bestia, and afterwards  
 Romam, rogatum amicitiam que societatem. Deinde,  
 to Rome, to entreat friendship and alliance. Afterwards,  
 ubi ea impetrata (sunt), mansere semper  
 when those (things) were obtained, they remained always  
 boni que fideles, et fecerant gnavè cuncta  
 good and faithful, and had done actively all (things)  
 imperata à Bestiâ, Albino, que Metello; que ita  
 ordered by Bestia, Albinus, and Metellus; and thus  
 adepti (sunt) facilitè ab imperatore, quæ  
 obtained easily from the commander, what (things)  
 petebant. Quatuor cohortes Ligurum emissæ  
 they did ask. Four cohorts of Ligurians were sent-out  
 eò, et Caius Annius præfectus. Id oppidum  
 thither, and Caius Annius (as) governor. That town  
 conditum-est ab Sidoniis, quos accepimus  
 was built by the Sidonians, whom we have received (heard)  
 profugos ob civiles discordias venisse  
 (being) exiles on-account-of civil discords to have come



in eos locos; cæterùm situm inter duas Syrtes,  
into those places; but situate between the two Syrtes,

quibus nomen inditum ex re.  
to which the name (was) given from the thing. [From the nature

Nam sunt duo sinus in extremâ  
of the thing.] For there are two bays in the remotest

Africâ prope, impares magnitudine, pari  
Africa nearly, unequal in size, with equal (similar)

naturâ, quorum proxuma terra sunt præalta;  
nature, of which (the parts) nearest to the land are very-deep;

cætera alta, uti fors tulit; alia vadosa  
the rest deep, as chance has brought (directed); others fordable

in tempestate. Nam ubi mare cœpit esse magnum  
in a tempest. For when the sea has begun to be great

et sævire ventis, fluctus trahunt limum, que  
and to rage by the winds, the waves draw [move] mud, and

arenam et ingentia saxa: ita facies locorum  
sand and huge rocks: thus the appearance of the places

mutatur simul cum ventis; nominatæ-sunt Syrtes  
is changed together with the winds; they have been named Syrtes

ab tractu. Lingua ejus  
(quicksands) from the drawing [or dragging.] The language of that

civitatis modò conversa (est) connubio Numidarum;  
state lately was changed by marriage of the Numidians;

pleraque legum que cultûs Sidonica,  
most (things) of laws and of living (are) Sidonian, [their

quæ retinebant  
laws and customs are, for the most part, Sidonian,] which they did retain

eò faciliùs, quòd agebant ætatem procul  
therefore more-easily, because they did act (spend) age (life) far

ab imperio regis. Multi que vasti loci erant  
from the authority of the king. Many and desert places were

inter illos et frequentem Numidiam.  
between them and numerous (inhabited) Numidia [and the

Sed quoniam venimus in has  
densely inhabited Numidia.] But since we have come into these

regiones per negotia Leptitanorum, videtur non  
regions through the affairs of the Leptitani, it seems not

indignum memorare egregium atque mirabile facinus  
unworthy to relate an excellent and admirable exploit

duorum Carthaginiensium; locus admonuit nos  
of two Carthaginians; the place has reminded us

eam rem.

that thing.

Tempestate quâ Carthaginienses imperitabant

In the time in which the Carthaginians did rule-over

pleræque Africae, Cyrenenses quoque fuere magni  
to most-of Africa, the Cyrenians also were great

atque opulenti. Ager in medio arenosus,  
and wealthy. The land in the middle (was) sandy,

unâ specie; neque erat flumen neque mons,  
with one appearance; neither was there river nor mountain,

qui discerneret fines eorum; quæ res habuit  
which might distinguish the bounds of them; which thing held

eos in magno que diuturno bello.

them in a great and lasting war. [Which thing kept the

Postquam

Carthaginienses and the Cyrenians in perpetual war.]

After-that

legiones item classes utrimque sæpè fusæ (sunt),  
the legions also the fleets on-either-side often were routed,

que fugatæ, et alteri attriverant alteros  
and put-to-flight, and the others (the one) had wasted the others

aliquantum; veriti ne alius aggrederetur mox  
some-what; having feared lest another might attack soon-after

victos que victores defessos, faciunt  
the conquered and the conquerors wearied, they make

sponsionem per inducias, uti legati proficiscerentur  
an agreement by truces, that deputies should depart

domo certo die; in quo loco fuissent  
from home on a certain day; in what place they might have been

obvii is haberetur communis finis  
opposite (had met) that should be held the common boundary

utriusque populi. Igitur duo fratres missi  
of each people. Therefore the two brothers sent

Carthagine, quibus nomen erat Philænis,  
from Carthage, to whom the name was Philæni,

maturavêre pergere iter; Cyrenenses iêre  
 hastened to proceed [with] the journey; the Cyrenians went  
 tardiùs. Cognovi parum, ne id evenerit  
 more-slowly. I have learned little, whether that may have happened  
 socordiâ an casu. Ceterùm tempestas solet  
 by inactivity or by chance. But a tempest is accustomed  
 retinere in illis locis haud secùs atque in  
 to detain in those places not otherwise and (than) in  
 mari. Nam ubi ventus coortus per æqualia  
 sea. For when the wind having arisen through the level  
 loca et nuda gignentium  
 places and naked (of things) producing [and destitute of vegetation]  
 excitavit arenam humo, ea agitata magnâ  
 has raised the sand from the ground, that being shaken with great  
 vi, solet implere ora que oculos; ita  
 violence, is accustomed to fill the faces and eyes; thus  
 prospectu impedito, morari iter. Postquam  
 the view being obstructed, to delay the journey. After-that  
 Cyrenenses vident se esse aliquanto posteriores,  
 the Cyrenians see themselves to be by some-thing later,  
 et metuunt poenas domi ob rem  
 and fear punishments at home on-account-of the thing  
 corruptam; criminari  
 being spoiled; [ill managed] (they began) to accuse  
 Carthaginienses digressos domo antè tempus;  
 the Carthaginians having departed from home before the time;  
 conturbare rem; denique malle omnia quàm  
 to confuse the affair; finally to prefer all (things) than  
 abire victi. Sed cùm Pœni peterent  
 to depart overcome. But when the Carthaginians might (did) ask  
 aliam conditionem, tantummòdo æquam, Græci  
 another condition, provided only equal (fair), the Greeks  
 faciunt optionem Carthaginiensium, vel,  
 [of Cyrene] make (offer) a choice of the Carthaginians, either,  
 ut illi obruerentur vivi ibi,  
 that they should be overwhelmed (buried) alive there (in those places),  
 quos peterent fines suo populo; vel sese  
 which they might seek (as) boundaries for their people; or themselves

processuros eâdem conditione in quem locum  
about-to-advance with the same condition into what place

vellent: Philæni, conditione probatâ,  
they might will: the Philæni, the condition being approved,

condonavêre que se que suam vitam reipublicæ;  
bestowed both themselves and their life to the state;

ita obruti (sunt) vivi. Carthaginienses  
thus they were overwhelmed (buried) alive. The Carthaginians

consecravêre aras Philænis fratribus in eo loco;  
consecrated altars to the Philæni brothers in that place;

que alii honores instituti (sunt) domi illis. Nunc  
and other honours were instituted at home to them. Now

redeo ad rem. Postquam Jugurtha, Thalâ  
I return to the thing (subject). After-that Jugurtha, Thala

amissâ, putat nihil satis firmum contra Metellum;  
being lost, thinks nothing sufficiently firm against Metellus;

profectus per magnas solitudines cum paucis,  
having set-out through great deserts with a few,

pervenit ad Gætulos, ferum que incultum genus  
he arrived to the Gætulians, a fierce and uncultivated race

hominum; et eo tempore ignarum Romani  
of men; and in that time ignorant of the Roman

nominis. Cogit multitudinem eorum in-unum: ac  
name. He collects a multitude of them together: and

paullatim consuefacit habere ordines, sequi  
by-degrees accustoms (them) to hold ranks, to follow

signa, observare imperium, item facere alia  
standards, to observe command, also to do other

militaria. Præterea perducit proximos  
military (things). Besides he leads-over the nearest (friends)

regis Bocchi, magnis muneribus et majoribus  
of king Bocchus, by great presents and by greater

promissis ad studium sui:  
promises to a zeal of him: [to be zealous for him, and his

quîs adiutoribus aggressus regem, impellit  
cause:] by which helpers having accosted the king, he urges

utî suscipiat bellum advorsum Romanos. Id  
(him) that he may undertake war against the Romans. That

fuit facilius que pronius eâ gratiâ,  
 was more-easy and more-inclined (ready) from that favour (account),  
 quòd Bocchus, initio hujusce belli, miserat  
 because Bocchus, in the beginning of this war, had sent  
 legatos Romam petitum fœdus et amicitiam. Quam  
 ambassadors to Rome to solicit a treaty and friendship. Which  
 opportunissimam rem, bello incepto, pauci  
 most convenient thing, the war being begun, a few  
 impediverant cæci avaritiâ, quîs erat mos  
 had hindered blind by avarice, to whom it was a custom  
 vendere omnia honesta atque inhonesta.  
 to sell all (things) honourable and dishonourable.  
 Etiam filia Jugurthæ nupserat antea Boccho.  
 Also the daughter of Jugurtha had married before to Bocchus.  
 Verum ea necessitudo ducitur levis apud Numidas  
 But that relationship is deemed light among Numidians  
 que Mauros: quod singuli habent quam-plurimas  
 and Moors: because each have very-many  
 uxores, quisque pro opibus; alii  
 wives, every-one according-to (their) riches; others (some)  
 denas; alii plures: sed reges ampliùs eò. Ita  
 ten; others more: but the kings more therefore. Thus  
 animus distrahitur multitudine: obtinet  
 (their) mind (affection) is divided by the multitude: it obtains  
 nullam pro sociâ: omnes sunt pariter viles.  
 none for a partner: all are equally cheap (despised).  
 Igitur, exercitus conveniunt in locum placitum  
 Therefore, the armies assemble into a place agreed-on  
 ambobus: ibi fide datâ et acceptâ, Jugurtha  
 to-both: there faith being given and received, Jugurtha  
 accendit animum Bocchi oratione: Romanos esse  
 inflames the mind of Bocchus by a speech: the Romans to be  
 injustos, profundâ avaritiâ,  
 unjust, with (of) profound avarice, [insatiable in their avarice,]  
 communes hostes omnium: illos habere eandem  
 common enemies of all: them to have the same  
 caussam belli cum Boccho, quam secum, et  
 cause of war with Bocchus, which (they had) with him, and



cum aliis gentibus; lubidinem imperitandi, quîs  
with other nations; a lust of ruling, to whom

omnia regna sint advorsa: tum sese,  
all kingdoms are inimical: then himself,

Carthaginienses paullò antè, item regem Persen;  
the Carthaginians a little before, also king Perses;

pòst uti quisque videatur opulentissimus, ita  
afterwards, as each may seem most-wealthy, so

fore hostem Romanis.

to be about-to-be an enemy to the Romans. [So he would be considered

His atque aliis talibus

as an enemy of the Romans.] These and other such (words)

dictis, constituunt iter ad oppidum Cirtam;  
being said, they appoint (their) march to the town Cirta;

quòd Q. Metellus locaverat prædam, que captivos,  
because Quintus Metellus had placed the booty, and the prisoners,

et impedimenta ibi. Ita Jugurtha ratus (est)  
and the baggages there. Thus Jugurtha thought (it)

fore pretium operæ, urbe aut captâ;

to be about-to-be the price of the labour, the city either being taken;

aut si Romanus venisset auxilio  
or if the Roman (general) might have come to aid

suis, sese certaturos prælio. Nam,  
to his-own, themselves (to be) about-to-contend by a battle. For,

callidus, festinabat id modo imminuere pacem  
crafty, he did hasten that now to diminish the peace

Bocchi; ne  
of Bocchus; [to lessen Bocchus's chance of making peace;] lest

agitando moras, mallet aliud quàm  
by managing delays, he should wish-rather another (thing) than

bellum. Postquam imperator cognovit de societate  
war. After-that the commander knew of the alliance

regum, facit copiam pugnandi, non temerè  
of the kings, he makes an opportunity of fighting, not rashly

omnibus locis, neque uti consueverat sæpè  
in all places, nor as he had been accustomed often

jam, Jugurthâ victo: ceterùm castris  
already, Jugurtha being conquered: but the camps

munitis haud procul ab Cirtâ, opperitur reges;  
being fortified not far from Cirta, he awaits the kings;

ratus esse melius, Mauris cognitis,  
having thought (it) to be better, the Moors being known, [the cha-

racter of the Moors being known,] *facere pugnam ex*  
to make battle according-to

commodo, *quoniam is novus hostis*  
convenience, [advantageously,] since that new enemy

accesserat. Interim, fit certior Româ  
had come-up (was added). Mean-time, he is made more-sure from Rome

per litteras, provinciam Numidiam datam (esse)  
by letters, the province Numidia to have been given

Mario. Nam acceperat antè, factum (esse)  
to Marius. For he had received (news) before, to have been made

consulem. Quibus  
consul. [For he had before heard that he was made consul.] By which

rebus percussus supra bonum atque honestum,  
things being struck beyond (what was) good or honourable,

neque tenere lacrimas neque moderari  
(he was able) neither to hold (his) tears nor to govern

linguam: egregius vir in aliis artibus,  
(his) tongue: an excellent man in other arts (qualities),

pati ægritudinem nimis molliter.  
(he was able) to endure sorrow too softly (effeminately).

Quam rem alii vortebant in superbiam;  
Which thing others did turn into pride; [did attribute to

alii bonum ingenium  
pride;] others (said) (his) good ability [his honourable spirit]

accensum-esse contumeliâ: multi, quòd victoria  
to have been inflamed by the insult: many (said), because the victory

jam parta eriperetur ex manibus:  
already obtained might be (was) snatched out-of (his) hands:

cognitum satis nobis, illum excruciatum (esse)  
it has been known sufficiently to us, him to have been tormented

magis honore Marii quàm suâ injuriâ; neque  
more by the honour of Marius than by his-own injury; nor

fuisse laturum tam anxie, si provincia  
to have been about-to-bear (it) so solicitously, if the province

adempta traderetur alii quàm Mario. Igitur  
 taken-away might be delivered to another than to Marius. Therefore

impeditus eo dolore, et quia videbatur  
 hindered by that grief, and because it did seem (the part)

stultitiæ curare alienam rem suo periculo,  
 of folly to attend-to another's affair with his-own danger,

mittit legatos ad Bocchum postulatum  
 he sends ambassadors to Bocchus to request (that)

“ne-fieret hostis Romano populo sine  
 “he would not-become an enemy to the Roman people without

caussâ: eum habere magnam copiam societatis que  
 cause: him to have a great opportunity of an alliance and

amicitiæ conjungendæ,  
 of-friendship to be joined, [of entering into alliance and friendship

quæ esset potior bello :  
 with the Roman people,] which might be better (than) war:

quamquam confideret suis opibus, tamen,  
 although he might (did) trust to his resources, however,

debere non mutare incerta pro certis ;  
 to owe (he ought) not to change uncertain (things) for certain ;

omne bellum sumi facilè, cæterùm desinere  
 every war to be taken-up easily, but to end

ægerrumè; initium et finem ejus non esse in  
 most-difficultly; the beginning and end of it not to be in

potestate ejusdem, licere cuivis, etiam  
 the power of the same (person), to be-lawful for any-one, even

ignavo, incipere; deponi cùm victores  
 for the cowardly, to begin (it); to be laid-aside when the conquerors

velint: proinde consuleret sibi que suo  
 may will: wherefore he should consult for himself and for his

regno; neu misceret suas florentes res cum  
 kingdom; nor should he mix his flourishing affairs with

perditis Jugurthæ.” Rex facit verba placidè satis  
 the ruined (affairs) of Jugurtha.” The king answers calmly enough

ad ea: “Sese cupere pacem, sed misereri  
 to those (words): “Himself to desire peace, but to pity

fortunarum Jugurthæ; si eadem copia fieret  
 of the fortunes of Jugurtha; if the same opportunity might be made

illi, omnia conventura." Imperator  
to him, all (things) (should be) about-to-agree." The commander

rursus mittit nuncios, contra postulata  
again sends messengers, against [in reply to] the requests

Bocchi. Ille probare partim, abnuere alia.  
of Bocchus. He (willed) to approve partly, to refuse other (parts).

Eo modo, nunciis missis que remissis sæpè  
In that manner, messengers being-sent and sent-back often

ab utroque, tempus procedere, et bellum  
by each, the time (began) to advance, and the war

trahi intactum ex voluntate Metelli.  
to be protracted untouched according-to the will of Metellus.

At Marius, ut diximus suprà, factus consul  
But Marius, as we have said above, being made consul

cupientissimâ plebe, postquam populus jussit  
by the most-eager common-people, after-that the people ordered

provinciam Numidiam ei, jam antea infestus  
the province Numidia for him, already before hostile

nobilitati; verò tum multus atque  
to the nobility; but then [he] (began) much (frequently) and

ferox instare; modò lædere singulos,  
haughty to urge (them); now to injure (insult) individuals,

modò universos: dictitare, "Sese cepisse  
now the whole: to say-often, "Himself to have taken

consulatum spolia ex illis victis:" præterea alia  
the consulship (as) spoils from them overcome:" besides other

magnifica pro se, et dolentia illis; interim  
splendid (things) for himself, and grieving to them; mean-time

habere prima, quæ erant opus bello:  
to have first, (those things) which were needful for war:

postulare supplementum legionibus; arcessere  
to require a complement for the legions; to send-for

auxilia à populis, et regibus, que sociis: præterea  
auxiliaries from peoples, and kings, and allies: besides

accire quemque fortissimum ex Latio, plerosque  
to summon each bravest (man) out-of Latium, [the] most

cognitos militiâ, paucos famâ, et  
known [to him] in warfare, [a] few by fame, and

ambiendo cogere homines, stipendiis  
by canvassing to compel [to induce] men, (their) pays

emeritis, proficisci secum. Neque  
(military duties) being served-out, to set-out with him. Nor

senatus, quamquam erat adversus, audebat  
the senate, although it was hostile (to him), did dare

abnuere illi de ullo negotio: cæterum etiam  
to refuse to him about any business: [thing:] but even

lætus decreverat supplementum;  
joyful had decreed a complement; [a new levy of soldiers;]

quia putabatur militiam plebi neque  
because it was thought warfare (to be) to the common-people neither

volenti,  
willing, [because military service was thought to be disagreeable to the

et Marius aut amissurus usum  
common people,] and Marius either about-to-lose the advantage

belli aut studium vulgi. Sed ea res  
of the war or the zeal of the common-people. But that thing

sperata (est) frustrâ. Tanta lubido eundi cum  
was hoped in-vain. So-great a passion of going with

Mario invaserat plerosque: quisque  
Marius had seized most (of them): each (did think)

sese fore locupletem prædâ; rediturum  
himself to be about-to-be wealthy by the booty; about-to-return

domum victorem: trahebant  
[and would return] home conqueror: they did draw (resolve) [they

alia hujuscemodi animis; et  
did fancy] other (things) of-this-kind in (their) minds; and

Marius arrexerat eos non paullum suâ oratione.  
Marius had roused them not a little by his speech.

Nam, postquam, omnibus quæ postulaverat  
For, after-that, all (things) which he had required

decretis, vult scribere milites, advocavit  
being decreed, he wills to write (levy) soldiers, he summoned

concionem populi, causâ hortandi,  
an assembly of the people, by cause (for the sake) of exhorting (them),

et simul exagitandi nobilitatem,  
and at-the-same-time of harassing [inveighing against] the nobility,



utì consueverat; deinde disseruit hoc modo:  
as he had been accustomed; then he discoursed in this manner:

“Ego scio Quirites, plerosque petere imperium  
“I know Romans, most (persons) to solicit power

à vobis, et gerere, postquam adepti-sunt,  
from you, and to carry (it) on, after-that they have obtained (it),

non iisdem artibus: primò esse industrios,  
not by the same arts (qualities): at first to be industrious,

supplices, modicos, dehinc agere ætatem  
suppliant, moderate, afterwards to act (spend their) age

per ignaviam et superbiam; sed videtur  
through sloth and pride; but (the thing) seems

contrà mihi. Nam quo universa  
otherwise to me. For by what (by how much) the whole

respublica est pluris, quàm consulatus aut  
commonwealth is of more (consequence), than the consulship or

prætura, eo illam debere  
the prætorship, by that (by so much) that to owe (ought)

administrari majore curâ, quàm hæc peti.  
to be administered with greater care, than these to be sought.

[That offices ought to be administered with greater care, than they are

sought for.] Neque fallit me, quantum negotii  
Neither does it deceive me, how-much of business

sustineam cum vestro maximo beneficio.  
I may support with your greatest kindness. [How great a

task your kindness has imposed on me.] Parare bellum, et  
To prepare war, and

simul parcere ærario; cogere eos ad  
at-the-same-time to spare to the treasury; to compel these to

militiam, quos nolis  
warfare, [to military service,] whom thou mayest be-unwilling

offendere; curare omnia domi que foris; et  
to offend; to take-care-of all (things) at home and abroad; and

agere ea inter invidos, occursantes,  
to act those (things) among the envious, the thwarting,

factiosos, est, Quirites, asperius  
the factious, is, Romans, more-rough (more-difficult) (than)

opinione. Ad hoc, si alii  
supposition. [Is supposed.] To this (besides), if others

deliquêre, vetus nobilitas, fortia facta  
have transgressed, (their) ancient nobility, the brave deeds

majorum, opes cognatorum et affinium,  
of (their) ancestors, the resources of relations and of kinsmen,

multæ clientelæ, omnia hæc adsunt  
many patronages, all these (things) are-present

præsidio: omnes spes sitæ mihi in memet;  
for a safeguard: all hopes (are) placed for me in myself;

quas est necesse tutari virtute et innocentia:  
which it is necessary to defend by valour and by integrity:

nam alia sunt infirma. Et,  
for other (qualities) [my other dependencies] are weak. And,

intelligo illud Quirites, ora omnium esse  
I understand that Romans, the countenances of all to be

conversa in me; æquos et bonos favere,  
turned upon me; the equal (just) and good to favour (me),

quippe mea benefacta procedunt reipublicæ;  
because my benefits succeed for the state; [a faithful

discharge of my duty is for the good of the republic;] nobilitatem  
the nobility

quærere locum invadendi. Quò est  
to seek a place (opportunity) of attacking (me). Wherefore it is

adnitendum mihi acriùs, uti vos neque  
to-be-striven to (by) me more-vigorously, that you neither

capiamini, et illi sint frustrà.  
may be taken, [ensnared,] and they may be in-vain (disappointed).

Fui ita à pueritiâ ad hoc ætatis, ut  
I have been so from boyhood to this (period) of age, that

habeam omnes labores, pericula consueta.  
I may have all labours, dangers accustomed. [That I am

accustomed to all labours and dangers.] Est non consilium,  
It is not (my) design,

Quirites, uti quæ faciebam ante vestra  
Romans, that what (things) I did do [before] (as) your

beneficia gratuitò,  
benefits gratuitously, [before I received any reward from you,]

deseram ea, mercede acceptâ. Est difficile  
I may desert those, a reward being received. It is difficult

illis temperare in potestatibus,  
for those to govern in authorities, [to act with moderation in

qui simulavêre sese probos per  
power,] who have pretended themselves honest through

ambitionem; vertit in naturam jam ex  
ambition; it has turned into nature now from

consuetudine mihi benefacere, qui egi omnem  
custom for me to act-well, who have acted (spent) all

ætatem in optumis artibus. Jussistis  
(my) age in the best arts [pursuits]. You have ordered

me gerere bellum cum Jugurtha; quam rem  
me to carry-on the war with Jugurtha; which thing

nobilitas tulit ægerrumè. Reputate, quæso, cum  
the nobility has borne most-hardly. Consider, I pray, with

vestris animis, num sit melius id mutari, si  
your minds, whether it may be better that to be changed, if

mittatis quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc,  
ye may send any out-of that band of the nobility to this,

aut aliud tale negotium, hominem veteris prosapiæ,  
or other such business, a man of old stock,

ac multarum imaginum, et nullius stipendii;  
and of many statues, and of no military-service;

scilicet ut in tantâ re, ignarus omnium,  
forsooth that in so-great an affair, ignorant of all (things),

trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem monitorem  
he may tremble, may hurry, may take some admonisher

sui officii ex populo. Evenit ita plerumque;  
of his duty out-of the people. It has happened so generally;

ut is, quem vos jussistis imperare, quærat  
that he, whom you have ordered to command, may seek

aliud imperatorem sibi. At ego scio, Quirites,  
another commander for himself. But I know, Romans,

qui postquam facti-sunt consules, cœperint  
(those) who after-that they were made consuls, may have begun

legere acta majorum, et militaria  
to read the deeds of (their) ancestors, and the military

præcepta Græcorum; præposterī homines! Nam  
 precepts of the Greeks; the preposterous men! For  
 est posterius tempore, prius re atque usu,  
 it is later in time, (but) sooner in fact and experience,  
 genere quàm fieri.  
 to carry-on (an office) than to be made (an officer). [Qualifications

and experience ought to precede the election of any one to the consul-

ship, if it is to be advantageous to the republic.] Compare me  
 Compare me

nunc, Quirites, novum hominem, cum superbiâ  
 now, Romans, a new man, with the pride

illorum. Quæ illi solent audire et legere,  
 of them. What (things) they are accustomed to hear and to read,

egomet vidi partem eorum; gessi alia;  
 I-myself have seen part of them; I have carried-on others;

quæ illi litteris ego didici ea  
 what they (have learned) by letters I have learned those (things)

militando. Nunc existimate vos facta an  
 by serving-in-war. Now think ye (whether) deeds or

dicta sint pluris. Contemnunt meam  
 words may be of more (value). They despise my

novitatem, ego, ignaviam illorum. Fortuna  
 newness (obscurity), I, the inactivity of them. (My) fortune

mihi, probra objectantur illis.  
 (is objected) to me, (their) disgraces are objected to them.

Quamquam ego existumo naturam omnium unam et  
 Although I think the nature of all one and

communem, sed quemque fortissimum  
 common, but (I think) each bravest (man)

generosissimum. Ac si posset jam quæri  
 the most-noble. And if it might be-able now to be inquired

ex patribus Albini aut Bestiæ, ne  
 from the fathers of Albinus or of Bestia, whether

maluerint me an illos gigni ex se;  
 they may have-rather me or them to be begotten of themselves;

quid creditis responsuros, nisi, sese  
 what believe ye (them) about-to-answer, unless, themselves

voluisse liberos, quàm optumos? Quòd  
 to have willed children, as the best (the best possible)? But  
 si despiciunt me jure; faciant idem suis  
 if they despise me by right; let them do the same to their  
 majoribus; quibus nobilitas cœpit ex virtute,  
 ancestors; to whom (their) nobility has begun out-of valour,  
 uti mihi. Invident meo honori; ergo invideant  
 as to me. They envy to my honour; therefore let them envy  
 labori, innocentia, meis periculis etiam;  
 to (my) labour, integrity, to my dangers also;  
 quoniam cepi illum per hæc. Verum  
 since I have received that (honour) by these. But (those)  
 homines corrupti superbiâ agunt ætatem  
 men corrupted by pride act (spend) age [their life]  
 ita, quasi contemnant vestros honores;  
 so, as-if they may despise [as if they despised] your honours;  
 petunt hos, quasi vixerint honestè.  
 they seek these (honours), as-if they may have lived honourably.  
 Næ illi sunt falsi, qui expectant pariter  
 Truly they are deceived, who expect equally  
 diversissimas res, voluptatem ignavia, et  
 the most-different things, the pleasure of inactivity, and  
 præmia virtutis. Atque etiam cùm faciunt verba  
 the rewards of valour. And also when they make words  
 apud vos aut in senatu,  
 among you [when they speak before you] or in the senate,  
 extollunt suos majores plerâque oratione; putant  
 they praise their ancestors in most-of the speech; they think  
 sese clariores memorando fortia facta eorum;  
 themselves more-illustrious by recording the brave deeds of them;  
 quod est contrâ. Nam quanto vita  
 which is on-the-contrary. For by how-much the life  
 illorum præclarior, tanto socordia horum  
 of them (was) more-illustrious, by so-much the indolence of these (is)  
 flagitiosior. Et profectò res habet se ita:  
 more-criminal. And truly the thing has itself thus:  
 gloria majorum est quasi lumen posteris,  
 the glory of ancestors is as-if a light to (their) posterities,



neque patitur bona neque mala eorum  
 nor suffers the good nor evil (qualities) of them (to remain)  
 in occulto. Ego, Quirites, patior inopiam hujusce  
 in secret. I, Romans, suffer the want of this  
 rei. Verum licet mihi  
 thing. [Of having illustrious ancestors.] But it is-lawful for me  
 dicere meamet facta, id quod est multo præclarius.  
 to say my own deeds, that which is by much more-illustrious.  
 Nunc videte quàm iniqui sint. Quod  
 Now see how unjust they may be (they are). What  
 arrogant sibi ex alienâ virtute, concedunt  
 they assume to themselves from others' valour, they grant  
 non id mihi ex mea; scilicet, quia habeo  
 not that to me out-of my-own; forsooth, because I have  
 non imagines, et quia nova nobilitas est  
 not images (statues), and because a new nobility is  
 mihi; quam certè est meliùs peperisse quàm  
 for me; which surely it is better to have produced than  
 corrupisse acceptam. Equidem ego ignoro non,  
 to have spoiled (it) received. Indeed I am ignorant not,  
 si velint jam respondere mihi, orationem  
 if they may will now to answer to me, a speech  
 abundè facundam et compositam fore  
 abundantly eloquent and composed (laboured) to be about-to-be  
 illis. Sed, cùm in vestro  
 to them. [Will be at their command.] But, when [amidst your  
 maximo beneficio lacerent. me que vos  
 most ample favour] they may tear (they revile) me and you  
 maledictis omnibus locis, placuit non reticere,  
 with reproaches in all places, it has pleased (me) not to be-silent,  
 ne quis duceret modestiam in conscientiam.  
 lest any-one might lead (construct) moderation into consciousness.  
 Nam quidem nulla oratio potest lædere me, ex  
 For indeed no speech is-able to injure me, according-to  
 sententiâ mei animi. Quippe, est necesse vera  
 the opinion of my mind. Because, it is necessary a true (speech)  
 prædicet benè; vita que mei  
 may declare well; [must speak well of me;] (my) life and my

mores superant falsam. Sed quoniam  
manners overcome (are above) a false (one). But since

vestra consilia accusantur, qui imposuistis  
your counsels are accused, who have placed (conferred)

summum honorem et maximum negotium mihi;  
the highest honour and the greatest business to (on) me;

reputate etiam atque etiam num id  
revolve also and also (again and again) whether that

sit poenitendum. Possum non ostentare imagines  
may be to-be-repented. I am-able not to display statues

neque triumphos aut consulatus meorum majorum  
nor triumphs or the consulships of my ancestors

caussâ fidei;  
by cause (for the sake) of faith (proof); [in order to obtain your confi-

at si res postulet hastas,  
dence;] but if the thing may require (I can display) spears,

vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria dona, præterea  
a standard, trappings, other military gifts, besides

cicatrices advorso corpore. Hæ sunt meæ  
scars in opposite (front) body. These are my

imagines, hæc nobilitas, non relictæ  
statues, this (my) nobility, not left [to me]

hæreditate, ut illa illis, sed quæ ego quæsi  
by inheritance, as those to them, but which I have sought

meis plurimis laboribus et periculis. Mea verba  
by my very-many labours and dangers. My words

sunt non composita;  
are not composed; [they say my language is not polished;]

facio id parvi; virtus ipsa ostendit  
I make (regard) that of little (consequence); virtue herself shows

se satis; est opus illis artificio uti  
herself sufficiently; there is need to them with (of) artifice that

tegant turpia facta oratione. Neque didici  
they may cover shameful deeds by speech. Nor have I learned

Græcas litteras. Placebat parum dicere  
Greek letters (literature). It did please (me) little to learn

eas, quippe quæ profuerunt nihil  
those (letters), forsooth which profited nothing to (their)

doctoribus ad virtutem. At  
 teachers to valour. [To make them brave men.] But

doctus-sum illa multo optuma reipublicæ;  
 I have been taught those (things) by much the best for the state;

ferire hostem, agitare præsidia, metuere  
 to strike an enemy, to agitate (mount) guards, to fear

nihil, nisi turpem famam; pati hiemem et  
 nothing, unless a base character; to suffer winter and

æstatem juxtà; requiescere humi; tolerare inopiam  
 summer alike; to rest on the ground; to endure want

et laborem eodem tempore. Ego hortabor milites  
 and labour in the same time. I will exhort the soldiers

his præceptis; neque colam illos arctè,  
 by these precepts; neither shall I treat them strictly (parsimo-

me opulenter; neque faciam laborem  
 niously), myself richly; nor shall I make the labour

illorum meam gloriam. Hoc est utile, hoc civile  
 of them my glory. This is useful, this citizen-like

imperium. Namque, cùm tute agas per  
 authority. For, when thou-thyself mayest act by

mollitiem, cogere exercitum  
 softness (remissness), [in luxury and indulgence,] to force an army

supplicio, id est esse dominum,  
 by punishment, [to perform its duties,] that is to be a despot,

non imperatorem. Vestri majores, faciundo hæc  
 not a commander. Your ancestors, by doing these

atque talia, celebravêre que se que  
 and like (things), have distinguished both themselves and

reipublicam. Quis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis  
 the state. On whom the nobility relying, itself unlike

moribus, contemnit nos æmulos illorum; et repetit  
 in manners, despises us the rivals of them; and seeks

omnes honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos  
 all honours not according-to merit, but as-if due

a vobis. Cæterùm superbissimi homines errant  
 [from you]. But these most-haughty men mistake

procul. Majores eorum reliquêre illis omnia,  
 far. The ancestors of them left to them all (things)

quæ licebat, divitias, imagines, præclaram  
 which it was-lawful, riches, statues, an illustrious  
 memoriam sibi; reliquere non virtutem;  
 memory of themselves; they have left not virtue;  
 neque poterant: ea sola neque datur neque  
 nor were they able: that alone neither is given nor  
 accipitur dono. Aiunt me sordidum et  
 is received by gift. They say me (to be) mean and  
 incultis moribus; quia exorno convivium  
 with uncultivated manners; because I adorn a banquet  
 parùm scite; neque habeo ullum histrionem neque  
 little skilfully; neither have I any buffoon nor  
 coquum pluris pretii quàm villicum: quæ  
 cook of more price than (my) steward: which (charges)  
 lubet mihi, Quirites, confiteri. Nam accepi  
 it pleases to me, Romans, to confess. For I have received  
 ita, et ex meo parente et ex aliis sanctis  
 (heard) so, both from my parent and from other reverend  
 viris, munditias convenire mulieribus, laborem viris,  
 men, refinements to suit to women, labour to men,  
 que plus gloriæ quàm divitiarum oportere esse  
 and more of glory than of riches to behove (ought) to be  
 omnibus bonis: arma, non supellectilem, esse  
 to all good (men): arms, not furniture, to be  
 decori. Quin, ergo, faciant id semper quod  
 for ornament. But, therefore, let them do that always which  
 juvat, quod æstumant carum: ament,  
 delights (them), which they value dear: let them love,  
 potent: ubi habuere adolescentiam, ibi  
 let them drink: where they have had (their) youth, there  
 agant senectutem, in conviviis, dediti  
 let them act (spend) old-age, in banquets, devoted  
 ventri, et turpissimæ parti corporis; relinquunt  
 to the belly, and to the basest part of the body; let them leave  
 sudorem, pulverem, et alia talia nobis, quibus  
 sweat, dust, and other such (things) to us, to whom  
 illa sunt jucundiora epulis. Verùm est  
 those (things) are more-pleasant (than) feasts. But it is

non ita. Nam ubi turpissimi viri dedecoravêre  
 not so. For when the basest men have disgraced  
 se omnibus flagitiis, eunt ereptum præmia  
 themselves with all infamies, they go to snatch-away the rewards  
 bonorum. Ita luxuria et ignavia, pessumæ artes,  
 of the good. Thus luxury and indolence, the worst arts  
 injustissimè officiunt nihil illis, qui  
 (qualities), most-unjustly injure nothing to those, who  
 coluêre eas; sunt cladi innoxiae  
 have cultivated them; they are for destruction to the innocent  
 reipublicæ. Nunc quoniam respondi illis,  
 state. Now since I have answered to them,  
 quantum mei mores, non flagitia illorum  
 as-much-as my manners, not the infamies of them  
 poscebant; loquar pauca de reipublicâ.  
 did require; I shall speak a few (words) concerning the state.  
 Primum omnium, Quirites, habete bonum animum  
 First of all, Romans, have a good mind  
 de Numidiâ; nam removistis omnia  
 (spirit) concerning Numidia; for you have removed all (things)  
 quæ tutata-sunt Jugurtham ad hoc tempus,  
 which have protected Jugurtha to this time, (viz.)  
 avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam. Deinde exercitus  
 avarice, unskilfulness, pride. Then the army  
 ibi, est sciens locorum,  
 there, is knowing of the places, [acquainted with the localities,]  
 sed mehercule magis strenuus quàm felix: nam  
 but by-Hercules more brave than fortunate: for  
 magna pars ejus attrita-est avaritiâ aut  
 a great part of it has been wasted by the avarice or  
 temeritate ducum. Quamobrem, vos, quibus  
 by the rashness of the commanders. Wherefore, you, to whom  
 militaris ætas est, adnitimini mecum, et capessite  
 a military age is, strive with me, and take-in-hand  
 rempublicam; neque metus ceperit  
 the state; neither fear may have taken (let-it-take)  
 quemquam ex  
 any-one [neither let fear take possession of any one] from



calamitate aliorum, aut superbiâ imperatorum.  
the misfortune of others, or from the pride of-commanders.

Egomet adero vobiscum in agmine, idem  
I-myself shall be-present with you on the march, the same (your)

consultor in prælio, et socius periculi  
adviser in battle, and the companion of the danger [with you];

que geram me que vos juxtâ in omnibus  
and I shall conduct myself and you alike in all

rebus. Et profecto, diis juvantibus, omnia  
things. And truly, the gods assisting, all (things)

sunt matura, victoria præda, laus: si quæ  
are ripe, victory booty, praise: if which (things)

essent dubia, aut procul, tamen, decet omnes  
might be (were) doubtful, or far-off, yet, it becomes all

bonos subvenire reipublicæ. Etenim nemo  
good (men) to aid to the state. For no-one

factus (est) immortalis ignaviâ: neque quisquam  
has been made immortal by indolence: nor any

parens optavit liberis, uti forent æterni;  
parent has wished for (his) children, that they might be everlasting;

magis uti exigèrent vitam boni que honesti.  
rather that they might spend life (as) good and honest (men).

Dicerem plura, Quirites, si verba adderent virtutem  
I would say more, Romans, if words might add valour

timidis: nam puto abundè dictum strenuis."  
to the fearful: for I think abundantly said for the brave."

Oratione hujuscemodi habitâ, postquam Marius  
A speech of this-kind being held, after-that Marius

videt animos plebis arrectos, onerat naves  
sees the minds of the common-people roused, he loads ships

propere commeatu, stipendio, armis, que aliis  
speedily with provision, with pay, with arms, and with other

utilibus: jubet A. Manlium, legatum,  
useful (things): he orders Aulus Manlius, (his) lieutenant,

proficisci cum his. Ipse, interea, scribere  
to set-out with these. Himself, (began) meanwhile, to write (levy)

milites, non more majorum, neque ex  
soldiers, not in the manner of (our) ancestors, nor according-to

classibus, sed uti libido cujusque erat,  
 classes (tribes), but as the desire of every-one was,

plerosque censos capite.  
 most (of them) registered by the head (nominal citizens). [Most

alii  
 of them were of the sixth or poorest class of citizens.] Others

memorabant id factum (esse) inopiâ bonorum,  
 did relate that to have been done from want of good (men),

alii per ambitionem consulis; quòd  
 others through the ambition of the consul; because

celebratus-erat que auctus ab eo genere;  
 he had been distinguished and increased by that kind (of people);

[because he owed his reputation and advancement to office principally to

et quisque egentissimus  
 that class of people;] and every most-needy (person) (was)

opportunissimus homini quærenti potentiam; cui  
 most-suitable to a man seeking power; to whom

sua sunt neque curæ, quippe nulla  
 his-own (things) are neither for a care, because (he has) none

quæ, et omnia videntur honesta cum  
 which (exist), and all (things) seem honourable with

pretio. Igitur, Marius profectus in  
 a price (reward). Therefore, Marius having set-out into

Africam cum majore numero aliquanto quàm  
 Africa with a greater number by something than

decretum-erat, advehitur Uticam paucis diebus.  
 had been decreed, is borne to Utica in a few days.

Exercitus traditur ei à P. Rutilio legato.  
 The army is delivered-up to him by Publius Rutilius the lieutenant.

Nam Metellus fugerat conspectum Marii; ne  
 For Metellus had avoided the sight of Marius; lest

videret ea quæ audita animus  
 he might see those (things) which being heard (his) mind

nequiverat tolerare. Sed consul, legionibus que  
 had been unable to endure. But the consul, the legions and

auxiliariis cohortibus expletis, proficiscitur in  
 auxiliary cohorts being filled-up, sets-out into

fertilem agrum, et onustum prædâ. Donat  
a fertile land, and loaded with booty. He presents

omnia capta ibi militibus: dein aggreditur  
all (things) taken there to the soldiers: then he attacks

castella et oppida parum munita naturâ et viris:  
the castles and towns little fortified by nature and by men:

facere multa prælia, cæterùm alia levia  
(he began) to make many battles, but other light (ones)

aliis locis. Interim, novi milites  
in other (different) places. Mean-time, the new soldiers (began)

adesse pugnae sine metu; videre fugientes capi  
to be-present to battle without fear; to see the fleeing to be taken

aut occidi; quemque fortissimum tutissimum:  
or to be slain; every bravest (man) the safest:

libertatem, patriam, que parentes, et omnia alia  
liberty, country, and parents, and all other

tegi armis: gloriam atque divitias  
(things) to be protected by arms: glory and riches

quæri. Sic brevi spatio,  
to be sought (acquired) [thereby]. Thus in a short space (time),

novi que veteres coaluere, et virtus omnium  
the new and the old (soldiers) coalesced, and the valour of all

facta (est) æqualis. At ubi reges cognoverunt de  
was made equal. But when the kings knew of

adventu Marii, abeunt diversi in difficiles  
the arrival of Marius, they depart different (apart) into difficult

locos. Ita, placuerat Jugurthæ, speranti hostes  
places. Thus, it had pleased to Jugurtha, hoping the enemies

mox effusos, posse invadi; Romanos, sicuti  
by-and-by scattered, to be-able to be attacked; the Romans, so-as

plerosque, metu remoto, futuros laxiùs  
most (persons), fear being removed, about-to-be more-remissly

que licentiùs. Interea, Metellus profectus  
and more-licentiously. Mean-time, Metellus having set-out

Romam, accipitur lætissimis animis contra suam  
to Rome, is received with most-joyful minds against his

spem: juxtà carus plebi que patribus  
hope: equally dear to the common-people and to the fathers

postquam invidia decesserat. Sed Marius  
 after-that the odium had departed. But Marius (began)  
 attendere pariter impigrè que prudenter res  
 to observe equally actively and prudently the affairs  
 suorum et hostium: cognoscere quid boni  
 of his-own (men) and of the enemies: to know what of good  
 esset utrisque, aut contrà: explorare itinera  
 might be to each, or otherwise: to reconnoitre the routes  
 regum, antevenire consilia et insidias  
 of the kings, to come-before (prevent) the designs and snares  
 eorum: pati nihil remissum apud se, neque  
 of them: to allow nothing negligent with himself, nor  
 tutum apud illos. Itaque, aggressus  
 safe with them [the kings]. Therefore, having attacked  
 sæpè et Gætulos et Jugurtham agentes  
 often both the Gætuli and Jugurtha acting (driving)  
 prædas ex nostris sociis, fuderat itinere,  
 booties from our allies, he had routed (them) on the march,  
 que exuerat regem ipsum haud procul ab  
 and had stripped the king himself not far from  
 Cirtâ armis.  
 Cirta from (of his) arms. [Compelled him to fly with loss of arms.]  
 Quæ postquam cognovit modò gloriosa,  
 Which (things) after-that he knew (to be) only glorious,  
 neque belli patrandi, statuit  
 nor (a means) of the war to-be-accomplished, he determined  
 circumvenire singulas urbes, quæ erant  
 to surround each-of the cities, which were  
 opportunissumæ viris, aut loco pro hostibus,  
 most-convenient in men, or in place (situation) for the enemies,  
 et adversum se; ita Jugurtham aut  
 and against himself; thus Jugurtha either (would be)  
 nudatum præsidiis, si pateretur ea,  
 stripped from (of) the garrisons, if he should suffer those (things),  
 aut certaturum prælio. Nam Bocchus sæpè miserat  
 or about-to-contend in battle. For Bocchus often had sent  
 nuncios ad eum, "velle amicitiam  
 messengers to him, "to will [saying, that he wished] the friendship

Romani populi, ne-timeret quid  
 of the Roman people, (that) it might not-fear any (thing)  
 hostile ab se." Exploratum-est parùm, ne  
 hostile from himself." It has been discovered little, whether  
 simulaverit id, quò improvisus  
 he may have pretended that, in-order-that (being) unexpected  
 accederet gravior, an mobilitate ingenii,  
 he might come-on more-heavy, or from fickleness of disposition,  
 solitus mutare pacem atque bellum. Sed  
 being accustomed to change peace and war. But  
 consul adire oppida que munita castella,  
 the consul (began) to approach the towns and fortified castles,  
 uti statuerat; avortere alia partim vi,  
 as he had determined; to turn-away (alienate) others partly by force,  
 alia metu, aut ostentando præmia ab hostibus.  
 others by fear, or by displaying rewards from the enemy.  
 Ac primò gerebat mediocria, existumans  
 And at-first he did carry-on moderate (things), thinking  
 Jugurtham venturum in manus ob  
 Jugurtha about-to-come into (his) hands on-account-of  
 tutandos suos.

protecting his-own (people). [Would come in his power, by being forced

Sed ubi accepit illum  
 to protect his own people.] But when he received (heard) him  
 abesse procul, et intentum aliis negotiis,  
 to be-distant far, and intent to (on) other affairs,  
 visum-est tempus aggredi majora et magis aspera.  
 it seemed time to attempt greater and more rough

Erat magnum atque valens  
 (difficult things). There was a great and prevailing (powerful)  
 oppidum, nomine Capsa, inter ingentes solitudines;  
 town, by name Capsa, among great deserts;  
 conditor cujus memorabatur Libys Hercules.  
 the founder of which was recorded [to be] the Libyan Hercules.

Cives ejus habebantur immunes apud Jugurtham,  
 The citizens of it were held free with Jugurtha,  
 levi imperio, et fidelissumi ob ea:  
 (under) light government, and most faithful on-account-of those (things):



muniti advorsum hostes, non modo mœnibus, et  
 fortified against enemies, not only by walls, and  
 armis, atque viris, verùm etiam multò magis  
 by arms, and by men, but also by-much more

asperitate locorum. Nam præter  
 by the roughness (difficulty) of the places. For except (the places)

propinqua oppido, omnia vasta, inculta,  
 near to the town, all (were) desert, uncultivated,

egentia aquæ, infesta serpentibus, vis quarum  
 wanting of water, infested by serpents, the violence of which (is)

acrior inopiâ cibi, sicuti omnium ferarum: ad  
 more-sharp from want of food, so-as of all wild-beasts: to

hoc, natura ipsa serpentium perniciosa,  
 this (besides), the nature itself of serpents (being) destructive,

accenditur magis siti quàm aliâ re.  
 is inflamed more by thirst than by (any) other thing.

Maxima cupido potiundi ejus invaserat  
 A very-great desire of possessing of it [Capsa] had seized

Marium, cùm propter usum belli,  
 Marius, as-well on-account-of the use (convenience) of the war,

tum quia res videbatur aspera: et  
 then (as) because the thing did seem rough: (arduous): and

Metellus ceperat oppidum Thalam magnâ gloriâ,  
 Metellus had taken the town Thala with great glory,

situm que munitum haud dissimiliter; nisi quod  
 situate and fortified not differently; unless that

aliquot fontes erant non longè à mœnibus apud  
 some fountains were not far from the walls at

Thalam: Capsenses utebantur unâ jugi  
 Thala: the Capsenses did use one continual (ever-flowing)

aquâ modò, atque eâ intra  
 [one never-falling spring of] water only, and that within

oppidum, cæterâ pluviâ. Id  
 the town, the rest [they used was] rain (water). That

tolerabatur faciliùs, eò, que ibi et in omni  
 was endured more easily, therefore, both there and in all

Africâ, quæ agebat incultiùs procul à mari,  
 Africa, which did act (live) more-rudely far from the sea,

quia Numidæ vescebantur plerumque lacte  
 because the Numidians did feed generally with (on) milk  
 et ferinâ carne, neque quærebant salem, neque  
 and with wild flesh, nor did they seek salt, nor  
 alia irritamenta gulæ. Cibus erat illis  
 other incitements of the throat (luxury). Food was to them  
 advorsum famem atque sitim, non lubidini neque  
 against hunger and thirst, not for pleasure nor  
 luxuriæ. Igitur, omnibus exploratis, consul,  
 for luxury. Therefore, all (things) being reconnoitred, the consul,  
 credo, fretus Diis (*abl.*), nam poterat non  
 I believe, relying on the Gods, for he was-able not  
 providere satis contra tantas difficultates consilio:  
 to provide sufficiently against so-great difficulties by counsel:  
 quippe tentabatur etiam inopiâ frumenti,  
 because he was tried [threatened] also with want of corn,  
 quòd Numidæ student pabulo pecoris magis  
 because the Numidians study for the food of cattle more  
 quam arvo,  
 than for the land, [because the Numidians are more occupied with  
 et contulerant jussu regis  
 cattle, than with tillage,] and they had carried [by order of the king]  
 in munita loca quodcunque natum-fuerat: autem  
 into fortified places whatsoever had been produced: but  
 ager aridus, et vacuus frugum eâ tempestate;  
 the land (was) dry, and empty of fruits in that time;  
 nam erat extremum æstatis; tamen, exornat  
 for it was the last of summer; however, he furnishes (himself)  
 providenter satis pro copiâ rei:  
 providently enough according-to the opportunity of the thing:  
 attribuit omne pecus, quod fuerat prædæ  
 he assigns all the cattle, which had been for booty  
 superioribus diebus, agendum auxiliariis  
 in the former days, to-be-acted (driven) by the auxiliary  
 equitibus; jubet A. Manlium, legatum, ire  
 horsemen; he orders Aulus Manlius, (his) lieutenant, to go  
 cum expeditis cohortibus ad oppidum Laris, ubi  
 with the light-armed cohorts to the town of Laris, where

locaverat stipendium et commeatum: que dicit se  
 he had placed pay and provision: and he says himself  
 venturum eòdem, prædabundum, post paucos  
 about-to-come to the same (place), plundering, after a few  
 dies. Sic suo incepto occultato, pergit ad  
 days. Thus his undertaking being concealed, he proceeds to  
 flumen Tanam. Cæterùm distribuerat quotidie in  
 the river Tana. But he had distributed daily on  
 itinere pecus exercitui per centurias, item æqualiter  
 the march cattle to the army by hundreds, also regularly

turmas;

(by) companies; [by companies of infantry, and proportionably by troops

et curabat, uti utres fierent ex  
 of cavalry;] and did take-care, that bladders might be made out-of

coriis: simul, et lenire inopiam frumenti,  
 hides: at-the-same-time, both to mitigate the want of corn,

et omnibus ignaris, parare quæ forent mox  
 and all (being) ignorant, to prepare what might be by-and-by

usui: denique, cùm ventum-est ad flumen sexto  
 for use: finally, when it was come to the river in the sixth

die, maxuma vis utrius effecta (est). Ibi  
 day, a very-great force (quantity) of bladders was completed. There

castris positis levi munimento, jubet milites  
 the camps being placed with a slight defence, he orders the soldiers

capere cibum, atque esse paratos, uti egrederentur  
 to take food, and to be prepared, that they should go-out

cum occasu solis; omnibus sarcinis abjectis,  
 with the setting of the sun; all the baggages being cast-away,

onerare que se et jumenta modò aquâ.  
 to load both themselves and the beasts-of-burden only with water.

Dein, postquam tempus visum (est), egreditur  
 Then, after-that the time seemed (fit), he goes-out

castris; que itinere facto totam noctem,  
 from the camps; and the march being made the whole night,

consedit: facit idem proxumâ. Dein  
 he sat-down (encamped): he does the same on the next. Afterwards

pervenit tertiâ, multo ante adventum  
 he arrived on the third (day), by much before the coming

lucis, in tumulosum locum, intervallo non  
 of light (day), into a hilly place, in an interval (of) not  
 ampliùs duùm millium ab Capsâ; que opperitur  
 more (than) of two miles from Capsa; and waits  
 ibi quàm-occultissime potest cum omnibus copiis.  
 there as-secretly-as he is able with all the forces.  
 Sed ubi dies cœpit, et multi Numidæ, metuentes  
 But when day began, and many Numidians, fearing  
 nihil hostile, egressi (sunt) oppido, jubet repente  
 nothing hostile, came-out from the town, he orders suddenly  
 omnem equitatum et velocissimos pedites tendere  
 all the cavalry and the swiftest infantry to proceed  
 cursu ad Capsam, et obsidere portas: deinde,  
 in a race (haste) to Capsam, and to block-up the gates: afterwards,  
 ipse intentus sequi properè, neque sinere  
 himself prepared (began) to follow speedily, nor to permit  
 milites prædare. Quæ, postquam  
 [nor did he permit] the soldiers to plunder. Which (things), after-that  
 oppidani cognovere, trepidæ res, ingens metus,  
 the townsmen knew, the fearful things, great fear,  
 improvisum malum, ad hoc pars civium  
 an unforeseen evil, to this (besides) part of the citizens  
 extra moenia in potestate hostium, coëgere  
 without the walls in the power of the enemies, compelled (them)  
 uti facerent deditionem. Cæterum oppidum  
 that they should make a surrender. But the town  
 incensum (est); puberes Numidæ interfecti; omnes  
 was set-on-fire; the adult Numidians killed; all  
 alii venundati; præda divisa militibus. Id  
 the others sold; the booty divided to the soldiers. That  
 facinus contra jus belli admissum (est) non  
 crime against the right (law) of war was committed not  
 avaritiâ, neque scelere consulis; sed quia  
 from avarice, nor by the wickedness of the consul; but because  
 locus opportunus Jugurthæ, difficilis aditu  
 the place (was) convenient for Jugurtha, difficult in access  
 nobis: genus hominum mobile, infidum,  
 to us: the kind of men (was) fickle, faithless,

coërcitum antè neque beneficio neque metu.  
restrained before neither by kindness nor by fear.

Postquam Marius, magnus et clarus antea,  
After-that Marius, great and illustrious before,

patravit tantam rem sine ullo incommodo  
accomplished so-great a thing without any inconvenience

suorum, coëpit haberi major atque  
of his-own (troops), he began to be accounted greater and

clarior: omnia non benè consulta  
more-illustrious: all (things) not well planned

trahebantur in virtutem. Milites habiti  
were drawn (construed) into valour. The soldiers held

modesto imperio, et simul locupletes,  
in moderate authority, and at-the-same-time wealthy, (began)

ferre ad cœlum; Numidæ timere  
to bear (extol him) to heaven; the Numidians (began) to fear (him)

magis quam mortalem; postremò, omnes socii atque  
more than mortal; lastly, all the allies and

hostes credere, aut divinam mentem esse illi, aut  
enemies to believe, either a divine mind to be to him, or

cuncta portendi nutu deorum.  
all (things) to be foreboded by the nod of the gods. [By the will of

Sed, ubi ea res evenit bene, consul  
the gods.] But, when that thing happened well, the consul

pergit ad alia oppida: capit pauca, Numidis  
proceeds to other towns: he takes a few, the Numidians

repugnantibus; corrumpit igni plura deserta  
resisting; destroys by fire more deserted

propter misérias Capsensium: omnia  
on-account-of the misfortunes of the Capsenses; all (things)

complentur luctu atque cæde. Denique,  
are filled with mourning and with slaughter. Finally,

potitus multis locis, (abl.) ac plerisque  
having possessed many places, and most (of them)

incruento exercitu, aggreditur aliam rem, non  
with a bloodless army, he attempts another thing, not

eâdem asperitate quâ Capensium,  
with the same roughness (danger) with which (the affair) of the Capsenses,



cæterùm haud secus difficilem. Namque haud  
but not otherwise (less) difficult. For not

longè à flumine Muluchâ, quod disjungebat regnum  
far from the river Mulucha, which did separate the kingdom

Jugurthæ que Bocchi, erat saxeus mons inter  
of Jugurtha and of Bocchus, there was a stony mountain between

cæteram planitiem, satis patens,  
the rest-of [in the midst of] a plain, sufficiently opening (wide),

mediocri castello, editus in-immensum, uno  
[on top,] with a moderate castle, elevated immensely, one

perangusto aditu relicto: nam omnis natura  
very-narrow approach being left: for all the nature (of the

(erat) præceps, velut opere atque consulto.  
place) was steep, as-if by work and by design.

Quem locum Marius intendit capere summâ  
Which place Marius resolves to take with the highest (utmost)

vi, quòd thesauri regis erant ibi: sed ea res  
force, because the treasures of the king were there: but that thing

gesta (est) melius forte quàm consilio. Nam  
was carried-on better by chance than by counsel. For

satis magna vis virorum atque  
(there was) a sufficiently great force of men and

armorum, et frumenti castello, et fons aquæ,  
of arms, and of corn in the castle, and a fountain of water,

locus importunus aggeribus que turribus, et aliis  
the place troublesome by ramparts and by towers, and by other

machinationibus;

engines; [the place unfit for mounds and towers, and other engines of war;]

iter castellanorum admodùm angustum,  
the road of the castle-defenders very narrow,

præcisum utrimque: vineæ agebantur  
cut-across on-either-side: mantelets were acted (put in motion)

frustrâ cum ingenti periculo. Nam cum eæ  
in-vain with great danger. For when those

processerant paullò, corrumpebantur igni aut  
had advanced a little, they were destroyed by fire or

lapidibus: milites neque consistere pro  
by stones: the soldiers (were able) neither to stand before

opere, propter iniquitatem loci; neque  
the work, on-account-of the unevenness of the place; nor

administrare inter vineas sine periculo: quisque  
to manage between the mantelets without danger: every

optumus cadere aut sauciari; metus  
best (man) (continued) to fall or to be wounded; fear

augeri cæteris. At Marius, multis diebus et  
to be increased to the rest. But Marius, many days and

laboribus consumptis, anxius trahere  
labours being wasted, solicitous (began) to draw (ponder)

cum suo animo, ne omitteret inceptum,  
with his mind, whether he should omit the undertaking,

quoniam erat frustra; an opperiretur fortunam,  
since it was in-vain; or he should wait-for fortune,

quâ (abl.) usus-fuerat sæpè prosperè.  
which he had used (experienced) often successfully.

Quæ, cùm æstuaus, agitare  
Which (things), when boiling (perplexed), he might (did) deliberate

multos dies que noctes, quidam Ligus, gregarius-miles  
many days and nights, a certain Ligurian, a common-soldier

ex auxiliariis cohortibus, egressus castris  
out-of the auxiliary cohorts, having gone-out from the camps

aquatum, animadvertit cochleas repentes inter  
to water, perceived snails creeping among

saxa, haud procul ab latere castelli, quod erat  
the stones, not far from the side of the castle, which was

avorsum præliantibus; quarum cùm  
turned-away from (those) fighting; of which [snails] when

peteret unam atque alteram, dein plures,  
he might (did) seek one and another, then more,

studio legundi, egressus-est paullatim propè ad  
from a desire of gathering, he went by-degrees nearly to

summum montis. Ubi, postquam intellexit  
the highest (point) of the mountain. Where, after-that he perceived

solitudinem, vortit animum  
a desert, [deserted place,] he turned (conceived) a mind

visundi ignara more humanæ cupidinis.  
of going-to-see unknown (things) in the manner of human desire.

Et fortè grandis ilex coaluerat in eo loco  
 And by chance a large holm-oak had grown-up in that place  
 inter saxa, modò paullulum prona, dein  
 among the rocks, now (in part) a little bent, then  
 inflexa, atque aucta in altitudinem, quò natura  
 curved, and increased into height, whither nature  
 fert cuncta gignentium; ramis cujus  
 carries all of growing (things); to the branches of which

modò, nisus, modò eminentibus saxis,  
 one-time, having leaned, one-time to the projecting rocks,

Ligus perscribit planitiem castelli; quòd  
 the Ligurian writes-out (observes) the plain of the castle; because

cuncti Numidæ aderant intenti præliantibus.  
 all the Numidians were-present intent to (those) fighting.

Omnibus exploratis quæ ducebat  
 All (things) being examined which he did lead (deem)

fore usui mox, regreditur eâdem,  
 to be about-to-be for use by-and-by, he returns by the same (way),

non temerè, uti ascenderat, sed tentans et  
 not rashly, as he had ascended, but trying and

circumspiciens omnia. Itaque adit Marium  
 looking-round-on all (things). Therefore he goes-to Marius

properè; edocet acta; hortatur "tentet  
 quickly; informs (the things) done; exhorts (that) "he may attempt

castellum ab eâ parte, quâ ipse ascenderat  
 the castle from that part, by which himself had ascended

castellum; pollicetur sese ducem itineris que  
 the castle; he promises himself the guide of the journey and

periculi." Marius misit ex  
 of the danger." Marius sent (some) out-of (those)

presentibus cum Ligure cognitum promissa  
 present with the Ligurian to know the promises

ejus; quorum uti ingenium cujusque erat, ita  
 of him; of whom as the disposition of each was, so

nunciavêre rem difficilem aut facilem. Tamen  
 they announced the thing difficult or easy. However

animus consulis paullum arrectus. Itaque  
 the mind of the consul (was) a little excited. Therefore

delegit ex copiâ tubicinum et cornicinum  
he chose out-of the plenty (number) of trumpeters and bugle-men

quinque quàm velocissimos, et quatuor centuriones  
five as most-swift, and four centurions

cum his, qui forent præsidio; que jubet omnes  
with these, who might be for a guard; and orders all

parere Liguri; et constituit proximum diem  
to obey to the Ligurian; and appoints the next day

ei negotio. Sed ubi tempus visum (est)  
for that business. But when the time seemed (proper)

ex præcepto, omnibus paratis que  
according-to instruction, all (things) being prepared and

compositis, perguit ad locum. Cæterùm illi, qui  
arranged, he proceeds to the place. But they, who

præerant centuriis, prædocti ab duce,  
were-over to the centuries, previously-instructed by the guide,

mutaverant arma que ornatum, capite atque  
had changed (their) arms and uniform, the head and

pedibus nudis, uti prospectus que nisus per  
feet (being) naked, that the view and climbing through

saxa foret facilius; gladii et scuta  
(among) the rocks might be more-easy; (their) swords and shields

super terga; verùm ea  
(were placed) upon (their) backs; but those (shields were)

Numidica ex coriis, gratiâ ponderis;  
Numidian (made) out-of hides, by favour (on account) of the weight;

et simul quò offensa  
and at-the-same-time in-order-that (the things) struck-against

streperent leviùs. Igitur Ligus prægrediens,  
might sound more-lightly. Therefore the Ligurian going-before,

vinciebat laqueis saxa, et si quæ radices  
did tie with ropes the rocks, and if any roots

eminebant vetustate, allevati quibus milites  
did project from age, lifted by which the soldiers

ascenderent faciliùs; interdum levare  
might ascend more-easily; sometimes (he began) to lighten (assist)

manu timidos insolentiâ itineris;  
by the hand the fearful from the unusualness of the way;

mittere singulos (*plur.*) inermes præ se, ubi  
to send each unarmed before himself, when

ascensus erat paullò asperior; deinde ipse sequi  
the ascent was a little more-rough; then himself to follow

cum armis illorum, tentare potissimùm quæ  
with the arms of them, to try very-particularly what

videbantur dubia nisui; ac ascendens  
did seem doubtful for leaning (climbing); and ascending

sæpius eâdem, que descendens, dein statim  
very-often by the same (way), and descending, then immediately

digrediens, addere audaciam cæteris. Igitur,  
stepping-aside, to add boldness to the rest. Therefore,

fatigati diu que multum, perveniunt tandem in  
being fatigued long and much, they arrive at-length into

castellum, desertum ab eâ parte, quòd omnes  
the castle, deserted from (on) that part, because all

aderant advorsum hostes, sicuti aliis diebus.  
were-present against the enemies, so-as in other days.

Ubi Marius cognovit ex nunciis, quæ  
When Marius knew from messengers, what (things)

Ligus egerat, quamquam habuerat Numidas  
the Ligurian had acted, although he had had the Numidians

intentos prælio toto die, tum verò  
engaged to (on) the battle in the whole day, then truly

cohortatus milites, ipse et egressus extra  
having exhorted the soldiers, himself also having gone out without

vineas, testudine actâ,  
the mantelets, a penthouse-engine being acted (put in motion), [the sol-

diers forming a testudo with their shields, over their heads and on their

(coepit) succedere, et simul, terrere  
sides,] began to advance, and at-the-same-time, to affright

hostem tormentis que sagittariis, et  
the enemy with shooting-engines and with archers, and

funditoribus eminens. At Numidæ, vineis  
with slingers at-a-distance. But the Numidians, the mantelets

Romanorum subversis, item incensis sæpè antea,  
of the Romans being overthrown, also burned often before,



tutabantur non sese mœnibus castelli; sed  
did defend not themselves in the walls of the castle; but (continued)

agitare dies que noctes pro muro; maledicere  
to be-active days and nights before the wall; to rail

Romanis, ac objectare vecordiam Mario;  
to the Romans, and to object-often insanity to Marius;

minari servitium Jugurthæ nostris militibus;  
to threaten the slavery of Jugurtha to our soldiers;

[and to threaten our soldiers, that they would become the slaves of

esse feroces secundis rebus. Interim,  
Jugurtha;] to be fierce in favourable things. Mean-time,

omnibus Romanis que hostibus intentis  
all the Romans and the enemies (being) intent to (on)

prælio, his certantibus pro gloriâ atque imperio,  
the battle, these [fighting] for glory and authority,

illis pro salute, magnâ vi utrimque, signa  
those for safety, with great force on-either-side, the signs

(cœperunt) canere repentè à tergo;  
(trumpets) (began) to sing (sound) suddenly from the rear;

ac mulieres et pueri primò, qui processerant visum  
and the women and boys first, who had gone-forth to see

fugere; deinde uti quisque erat proximus  
(began) to flee; then as every-one was nearest

muro; postremò, cuncti armati que inermes.  
to the wall; lastly, all the armed and unarmed.

Ubi quod accidit, Romani instare,  
When which (thing) happened, the Romans (began) to press-on,

fundere eò acriùs, ac tantummodò sauciare  
to rout therefore more-vigorously, and only to wound

plerosque; dein vadere super corpora  
most (of them); then to proceed over the bodies

occisorum, avidi gloriæ, certantes petere murum;  
of the slain, greedy of glory, contending to seek the wall;

neque præda morari quemquam omnium.  
nor plunder (was-able) to delay any-one of all.

Sic temeritas Marii correctâ forte, invenit  
Thus the rashness of Marius being corrected by chance, found (acquired)

gloriam ex culpâ. Cæterum, dum ea res geritur,  
 glory from fault. But, whilst that thing is carried-on,

L. Sulla quæstor venit in castra cum magno  
 Lucius Sylla (as) quæstor came into the camps with great (much)

equitatu; quod relictus-erat Romæ, uti  
 cavalry; because [he] had been left at Rome, that

cogeret ex Latio, et à sociis. Sed  
 he might collect [them] out-of Latium, and from the allies. But

quoniam res admonuit nos tanti viri,  
 since the thing (subject) has reminded us of so-great a man,

visum-est idoneum dicere paucis de natura  
 it has seemed proper to say in a few (words) about the nature

que cultu ejus. Enim neque sumus  
 (disposition) and education [habits] of him. For neither are we

dicturi de rebus Sullæ alio loco; et  
 about-to-say of the affairs of Sylla in another place; and

L. Sisenna persecutus optumè et diligentissimè  
 Lucius Sisenna having followed-up best and most-diligently

omnium, qui dixêre eas res, videtur  
 of all (those), who have said (treated) those things, seems

mihi locutus ore parùm libero.  
 to me having spoken with a mouth little (by no means) free.

Igitur

[His relation seems to me to have but little political freedom.] Therefore

Sulla fuit nobilis patriciæ gentis, familiâ  
 Sylla was a noble (man) of patrician nation (family), the family

extinctâ propè ignaviâ majorum, eruditus  
 being extinct nearly by the indolence of (his) ancestors, skilled

juxtâ atque doctissumè Græcis atque Latinis  
 alike and most-learnedly in Greek and in Latin

litteris, ingenti animo, cupidus voluptatum, sed  
 letters, with a great mind, desirous of pleasures, but

cupidior gloriæ; esse luxurioso otio;  
 more-desirous of glory; (he was able) to be in luxurious ease;

tamen voluptas nunquam  
 [luxurious when at leisure;] however pleasure never

remorata (est) ab negotiis, nisi quòd potuit  
 retarded (him) from (his) affairs, unless that it was-able

consuli honestiùs de uxore :  
to be consulted more honourably about (his) wife : [unless he had

consulted his own character more in matrimonial affairs :] (he was)

facundus, callidus, et facilis amicitia; incredibilis  
eloquent, crafty, and easy in friendship; an incredible

altitudo ingenii ad negotia simulanda;  
depth of ability to affairs to-be-dissembled; [of concealing

largitor multarum rerum, ac maxumè  
his affairs;] a bestower of many things, and chiefly

pecuniæ; atque felicissimo omnium ante  
of money; and (being) most-fortunate of all before

civilem victoriam, fortuna fuit nunquam super  
the civil victory, (his) fortune was never above (his)

industriam; que multi dubitavêre esset  
industry; and many have doubted (whether) he might be (he was)

fortior an felicior. Nam habeo incertum  
more-brave or more-fortunate. For I have (it) doubtful

pudeat magis an pigeat disserere  
(whether) it may shame [more] or may grieve (me) to discuss

quæ fecerit postea. Igitur  
what (things) he may have done (he did) afterwards. Therefore

postquam Sulla venit in Africam atque in castra  
after-that Sylla came into Africa and into the camps

Marii, cum equitatu, uti dictum-est supra,  
of Marius, [with the cavalry,] as has been said above, (being)

rudis antea et ignarus belli, factus-est solertissimus  
unskilled before and ignorant of war, he became most-intelligent

omnium in paucis tempestatibus.  
[the most skilful soldier] of all in a few seasons.

Ad-hoc appellare milites  
[In a short time.] Besides (he was accustomed) to address the soldiers

benignè; dare beneficia multis rogantibus, ipse  
kindly; to give benefits to many asking, himself

(dare) aliis per se; invitus accipere; sed  
(to give) to others by himself; unwilling to receive (any); but

reddere ea properantiùs, quàm mutuum æs;  
to return those more-quickly, than borrowed brass (a loan);

ipse repetere ab nullo: laborare id magis,  
 himself to ask-again from no-one: to labour-for that more (rather),  
 ut quàm-plurimi deberent illi: agere joca, atque  
 that as-many-as-possible should owe to him: to act jests, and  
 seria cum humillimis; adesse multus in  
 serious (matters) with the humblest; to be present much in  
 operibus, in agmine, atque ad vigilias: neque  
 the works, on the troop (march), and at the watches: nor  
 interim lædere famam consulis, aut cujusquam  
 mean-time to injure the character of the consul, or of any  
 boni, quod prava ambitio solet:  
 good (man), which corrupt ambition is accustomed (to do):  
 tantummodò neque pati alium priorem  
 only neither to suffer (any) other former [to be before  
 consilio neque manu; antevenire plerosque.  
 him] in counsel nor in hand (action); to outstrip most.

Quibus rebus et artibus,  
 [He excelled most others.] By which things and arts (qualities),  
 factus (est) brevi carissimus Mario que militibus.  
 he became shortly most-dear to Marius and to the soldiers.

At postquam, Jugurtha amiserat oppidum Capsam  
 But after-that, Jugurtha had lost the town Capsa

que alios munitos locos, et utiles sibi, et  
 and other fortified places, and useful to himself, and

simul magnam pecuniam, mittit nuncios ad  
 at-the-same-time great money, he sends messengers to

Bocchum, adduceret copias, quam-primum  
 Bocchus, (that) he should lead-up (his) forces as-soon-as-possible

in Numidiam: tempus prælii faciundi adesse.  
 into Numidia: the time of battle to-be-made to be-at-hand.

Quem, ubi accepit cunctari, dubium belli,  
 Whom, when he received (heard) to delay, doubtful of the war,

atque trahere rationes pacis: corrumpit  
 and to draw (to devise) reasons of peace: he corrupts (bribes)

rursùs, ut antea, proximos ejus donis, que  
 again, as before, the nearest (friends) of him by gifts, and

pollicetur tertiam partem Numidiæ Mauro ipsi, si  
 promises a third part of Numidia to the Moor himself, if

Romani expulsi Africâ, aut suis  
 the Romans (should be) driven-out from Africa, or his-own  
 finibus integris, bellum compositum-foret.  
 territories (being) entire, the war might have been arranged.

[Or peace being so made with the Romans, that he (Jugurtha) should lose

Bocchus, illectus eo præmio, accedit  
 no territory.] Bocchus, allured by that reward, comes-to

Jugurtham cum magnâ multitudine. Ita exercitu  
 Jugurtha with a great multitude. Thus the army

amborum conjuncto, invadunt Marium jam  
 of both being united, they attack Marius now

proficiscentem in hiberna, decimâ parte diei  
 setting-out into winter-quarters, the tenth part of the day

vix reliquâ, rati noctem, quæ jam  
 scarcely (being) left, having thought the night, which now

aderat, fore munimento sibi  
 was-at-hand, to be about-to-be for a defence to themselves

victis; et si vicissent, nullo  
 being conquered; and if they might have conquered, (to be) no

impedimento, quia erant scientes locorum:  
 obstruction, because they were knowing of the places:

contrâ, utrumque casum  
 [acquainted with the locality:] on-the-other-hand, each chance

fore difficiliorem Romanis in tenebris.  
 to be about-to-be more-difficult to the Romans in the darknesses.

Igitur consul cognovit simul, ex multis, de  
 Therefore the consul knew at-the-same-time, from many, of

adventu hostium, et hostes ipsi aderant;  
 the arrival of the enemies, and the enemies themselves were-at-hand;

et priusquam exercitus quivit instrui, aut  
 and before-that the army was-able to be arrayed, or

colligere sarcinas, denique, antequam  
 to collect the baggages, finally, before-that (it was able)

accipere signum aut ullum imperium, Mauri atque  
 to receive a signal or any command, the Moorish and

Gætuli equites incurrunt in nostros non  
 Gætulian horse rush against our (men) not



acie, neque ullo more prælii, sed catervatim,  
 in line (of battle), nor in any manner of battle, but in-troops,

utì fors conglobaverat quosque. Omnes qui  
 as chance had collected every (troop). All who

trepidi improvise metu, ac tamen memores  
 fearful from the unforeseen terror, and however mindful

virtutis, aut capiebant arma, aut defensabant ab  
 of valour, either did take arms, or did protect from

hostibus alios capientes; pars ascendere  
 the enemies others taking (them); part (began) to mount (their)

equos, ire obviam hostibus: pugna fieri magis  
 horses, to go towards to the enemies: the battle to become more

similis latrocinio quam prælio: equites, pedites  
 like to a robbery than to a fight: horse, foot

permixti sine signis, sine ordinibus, cedere  
 mingled without standards, without ranks, to slaughter

alios, obtruncare alios; circumvenire ab tergo  
 others (some), to maim others; to surround from the rear

multos pugnantes accerrumè contra adversos:  
 many fighting most-vigorously against (those) opposite:

neque virtus, neque arma tegere  
 neither valour, nor arms (were able) to cover (protect) (them)

satis; quod hostes erant plures numero et  
 sufficiently; because the enemies were more in number and

circumfusi undique. Denique, veteres Romani que  
 poured-round on-every-side. Finally, the veteran Romans and

novi, et scientes belli ob ea  
 the new (recruits), and (those) knowing of war on-account-of those

facere orbes, si locus aut casus  
 (things) (began) to make rings, if the place or chance

conjunxerat quos: atque ita tecti atque instructi  
 had united any: and thus protected and arrayed

ab omnibus partibus, simul, sustentabant  
 from all parts, at-the-same-time, they did support

vim hostium. Neque fuit Marius territus aut  
 the force of the enemies. Neither was Marius affrighted or

magis demisso animo quàm antea, in eo tam  
 more with cast-down mind than before, in that so

aspero negotio; sed vagari passim cum  
rough a business; but (he began) to hover every-where with

suâ turmâ, quam paraverat magis ex  
his-own troop, which he had prepared (raised) rather out-of

fortissumis quàm familiarissimis; ac modò  
the bravest than the most-intimate; and one-time

succurrere suis laborantibus, modò invadere  
to aid to his-own (men) labouring, one-time to attack

manu hostes, ubi obstiterant  
with (his) band the enemies, where they had opposed

confertissimi; consulere militibus,  
most-dense; to advise to the soldiers, [to aid his soldiers by

quoniam poterat non imperare, omnibus  
fighting,] since he was able not to command, all

conturbatis. Que jam dies consumptus-erat, cum,  
being disordered. And now the day had been spent, when,

tamen, barbari remittere nihil, atque  
however, the barbarians (began) to relax nothing, and

instare acriùs, uti reges præceperant,  
to press-on more-vigorously, as the kings had ordered,

rati noctem pro se. Tum  
having thought the night for themselves (in their favour). Then

Marius trahit consiliùm ex copiâ  
Marius draws (takes) counsel from the plenty (condition)

rerum; atque occupat duos colles propinquos inter  
of things; and seizes two hills near among

se, uti esset locus  
themselves, [near to one another,] that there might be a place

receptui suis. In uno quorum parùm amplo  
for a retreat for his (men). In one of which little extensive

castris, erat magnus fons aquæ:  
(not large enough) for camps, was a great fountain of water:

alter opportunus usui, quia editus et  
the other (was) convenient for use, because (it was) raised and

præceps magnâ parte: egebat munimento paucâ.  
steep in great part: did want with fortification in few

Cæterùm jubet  
(in small part). [Required but little fortification.] But he orders

Sullam agitare noctem cum equitibus apud  
Sylla to agitate (spend) the night with the cavalry at

aquam. Ipse contrahit in unum dispersos  
the water. Himself draws together into one (body) the scattered

milites, hostibus conturbatis neque minùs :  
soldiers, the enemies being disordered neither (not) less :

dein subducit cunctos pleno gradu in collem.  
then he withdraws all in full pace unto the hill.

Ita reges, coacti difficultate loci, deterrentur  
Thus the kings, compelled by the difficulty of the place, are deterred

prælio : neque, tamen, sinunt suos abire  
from battle : nor, however, do they permit their (men) to depart

longiùs, sed utroque colle circumdato multitudine,  
farther, but each hill being surrounded by the multitude,

effusi, consedêre. Dein crebris ignibus factis,  
scattered, they sat-down. Then frequent fires being made,

barbari lætari suo more, exsultare,  
the barbarians (began) to rejoice in their manner, to exult,

strepere vocibus plerumque noctis : et  
to roar with voices most of the night : and (their)

duces ipsi feroces ; quia fugêre non,  
generals themselves (were) fierce ; because they fled not,

agere ut pro victoribus.

(they began) to act as for conquerors. [As if they were conquerors.]

Sed cuncta ea facilia visu Romanis,  
But all those (things were) easy to be seen by the Romans,

ex tenebris et editioribus locis, que erant  
out-of the darknesses and the higher places, and were

magno hortamento. Verò Marius confirmatus  
for great encouragement. But Marius being encouraged

plurimùm imperitiâ hostium, jubet  
very-much by the ignorance of the enemies, orders

quam-maximum silentium haberi ; ne quidem  
the greatest-possible silence to be kept ; not indeed (even)

signa canere, uti solebant  
the signs (trumpets) to sing (to sound), as they were accustomed

per vigilias ; deinde ubi lux adventabat,  
through the watches ; then when light (day) did approach,

hostibus jam defessis, ac captis somno paullo  
the enemies now being wearied, and taken with sleep a little

antè, de-improviso vectigales tubicines  
before, (he orders) suddenly the tributary trumpeters

omnes simul, item cohortium, turmarum,  
all together, also (those) of the cohorts, of companies,

legionum, canere signa,  
[of the troops of horse,] of legions, to sound the signs (trumpets),

milites tollere clamorem, atque erumpere portis.  
the soldiers to raise a shout, and to burst-forth from the gates.

Mauri atque Gætuli, excitì repentè ignoto  
The Moors and Gætulians, roused suddenly by the unknown

et horribili sonitu, poterant neque fugere, neque  
and horrible sound, were-able neither to flee, nor

capere arma, neque facere aut providere quidquam  
to take arms, nor to do or to provide any

omnino; ita vecordia quasi ceperat  
(thing) at-all; thus madness as-it-were had taken (seized)

cunctos terrore, formidine strepitu, clamore, nullo  
all with terror, with dismay by the noise, by shout, none

subveniente, nostris instantibus tumultu.  
assisting, our (men) pressing-on with tumult.

Denique omnes fusi (sunt), que fugati; arma  
Finally all were routed, and put-to-flight; (their) arms

et pleraque militaria signa capta; que plures  
and most-of the military standards taken; and more

interempti (sunt) eo prælio, quàm omnibus  
were destroyed in that battle, than in all

superioribus. Nam fuga impedita (est) somno et  
the former. For flight was hindered by sleep and

insolito metu. Dein Marius proficiscitur in  
by unusual fear. Then Marius sets-out into

hiberna, uti cœperat, que decreverat agere  
winter-quarters, as he had begun, which he had resolved to act

in maritimis oppidis, propter commeatum;  
(spend) in the maritime towns, on-account-of provision;

neque tamen factus (est) socors aut insolens victoriâ;  
nor however was he made inactive or haughty by victory;

sed incedere quadrato agmine pariter  
but (continued) to march in a squared troop (array) equally

atque in conspectu hostium. Sulla curabat  
and (as), in sight of the enemies. Sylla did take-care

cum equitatu apud dextimos, A. Manlius  
(commanded) with the cavalry at (on) the right, Aulus Manlius

cum funditoribus et sagittariis, præterea cohortes  
with the slingers and archers, besides the cohorts

Ligurum in sinistrâ parte; locaverat  
of the Ligurians (commanded) in the left part; he had placed

tribunos primos et extremos cum expeditis  
tribunes first and last with the light-armed

manipulis. Perflugæ minumè cari, et  
divisions. Deserters (persons) by-no-means dear, and

scientissimi regionum, explorabant iter  
most-skilful of the countries, did reconnoitre the march

hostium. Consul simul providere  
of the enemies. The consul at-the-same-time (continued) to provide

omnia, quasi nullo imposito;  
all (things), as-if no-one being placed-over (the men);

adesse apud omnes, laudare, increpare  
to be-present at (with) all, to praise, to chide (those)

merentes. Ipse armatus que intentus item cogebat  
deserving. Himself armed and prepared also did compel

milites; neque munire castra secus  
the soldiers; nor (did he cease) to fortify the camps otherwise

atque facere iter;  
and (than) to make the march; [he fortified his camps with the same

mittere cohortes ex  
care that he had made his march;] to send cohorts out-of

legionibus excubitu in portâ, auxilios equites  
the legions to watch in the gate, the auxiliary cavalry

pro castris; præterea locare alios super vallum  
before the camps; besides to place others above the rampart

in munimentis, ipse circuire vigilias, non  
in the fortifications, himself to go-about the watches, not

diffidentia futuri quæ  
from distrust of future (completion of) what he might have (had)



imperavisset, quàm utì labos exæquatus cum  
 ordered, as that the labour being equalled with

imperatore esset militibus volentibus.  
 the commander might be to the soldiers willing. [That the com-

mander sharing in the toils of the soldiers, they might the more willingly

Et sanè Marius coercebat exercitum  
 bear them.] And truly Marius did restrain (his) army

magis pudore, quàm malo illo et aliis  
 more by shame, than by evil (severity) in that (time) and in other

temporibus Jugurthini belli; quod multi aiebant  
 times of the Jugurthine war; which many did say

fieri per ambitionem; pars quòd habuisset  
 to be done through ambition; part (said) because he might have held

voluptati à pueritiâ consuetam duritiam, et alia  
 for pleasure from boyhood (his) accustomed hardihood, and other

quæ cæteri vocant miserias. Nisi tamen  
 (things) which the rest call miseries. Unless (but) however

respublica gesta (est) benè atque decorè, pariter  
 the state was carried-on well and becomingly, equally

ac sævissumo imperio. Igitur citi  
 and (as) in the most-cruel authority. Therefore speedy

speculatores ostendunt sese simul  
 spies show themselves at-the-same-time

undique haud longè ab oppido Cirta, quarto  
 from-every-side not far from the town Cirta, in the fourth

die; quâ re hostis intelligitur adesse. Sed  
 day; by which thing the enemy is understood to be-at-hand. But

quia redeuntes diversi, alius ab  
 because returning different, the one (from one, the other) from

aliâ parte, atque omnes significabant idem;  
 another part, and all did signify (prove) the same

consul incertus quonam modo instrueret  
 (thing); the consul doubtful in what manner he should arrange

aciem, nullo ordine commutato, paratus  
 the line (of battle), no order being changed, prepared

advorsum omnia opperitur ibidem. Ita  
 against all (things) he waits in-the-same-place. Thus

spes frustrata (est) Jugurtham, qui distribuerat  
 hope disappointed Jugurtha, who had divided (his)

copias in quatuor partes, ratus aliquos ex  
 forces into four parts, having thought some out-of

omnibus æquè venturos hostibus ab tergo.  
 all equally about-to-come to (on) the enemies from the rear.

Interim Sulla, quem hostes attigerant primùm,  
 Mean-time Sulla, whom the enemies had reached first,

cohortatus suos, ipse que alii invadunt  
 having exhorted his (men), himself and the others attack

Mauros turmatim et equis confertis  
 the Moors by-troops and with horses crowded

quam-maxumè; cæteri manentes in loco  
 as-much-as-possible; the rest remaining in (their) place (began)

tegere corpora ab jaculis emissis  
 to cover (protect) (their) bodies from the javelins sent

eminùs, et obtruncare, si qui venerant  
 from-a-distance, and to massacre, [such,] if any [as] had come

in manus. Dum equites præliantur eo  
 into (their) hands. Whilst the cavalry fight in that

modo, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos filius ejus,  
 manner, Bocchus with the infantry, which the son of him,

Volux, adduxerat, neque adfuerant in priore  
 Volux, had led-up, nor had they been-present in the former

pugnâ, morati in itinere, invadunt postremam  
 battle, having delayed on the march, attack the last [rear]

aciem Romanorum. Marius agebat tum apud  
 line of the Romans. Marius acted then at (with)

primos, quòd Jugurtha ibi cum plurimis.  
 the first, [in front,] because Jugurtha [was] there with very-many.

Dein Numida, adventu Bocchi cognito,  
 Then the Numidian, [Jugurtha,] the arrival of Bocchus being known,

convortit clàm cum paucis ad pedites; ibi  
 turns secretly with a few (men) to the infantry; there

exclamat Latinè, nam didicerat loqui  
 he cries-out Latinly, [in Latin,] for he had learned to speak (that

apud Numantiam, "Nostros pugnare  
 language) at Numantia, "Our (men) to fight

frustrâ ; Marium interfectum (esse) paullo antè  
in-vain ; Marius to have been slain a little before

suâ manu :'' simul ostendere  
by his-own hand :'' at-the-same-time (he began) to show (his)

gladium oblitum sanguine, quem cruentaverat  
sword smeared with blood, which he had stained-with-blood

in pugnâ, nostro pedite occiso impigre  
in the battle, our foot-soldiery being slain actively (bravely)

satis.

enough. [Which he had stained with the blood of one of our foot-soldiers,

Quod ubi milites accepêre  
quickly slain.] Which when the soldiers received (heard)

terrentur magis atrocitate rei quam  
they are affrighted more by the dreadfulness of the thing than

fide nuncii ; que barbari simul  
by the faith (belief) of the messenger ; and the barbarians at-the-same-time

tollere animos, et incedere  
(began) to raise (their) minds (spirits), and to advance

acriùs in percussos Romanos. Que jam  
more-vigorously against the astonished Romans. And now

aberant paullùm à fugâ, cùm Sulla, iis  
they were-distant little from flight, when Sylla, those

profligatis advorsum quos îerat, rediens, incurrit  
being routed against whom he had gone, returning, rushes-on

Mauris ab latere. Bocchus avertitur statim.  
to the Moors from the flank. Bocchus is turned immediately.

At dum Jugurtha cupit sustentare suos et retinere  
But whilst Jugurtha desires to support his-own and to retain

victoriam jam propè adeptam, circumventus ab  
the victory now nearly obtained, being surrounded by

equitibus dextrâ sinistrâ, omnibus occisis,  
the cavalry on the right (and) left, all being killed, (he)

solus vitabundus erumpit inter tela hostium.  
alone about-escaping bursts-forth between the darts of the enemies.

Atque Marius interim, equitibus fugatis, accurrit  
And Marius mean-time, the cavalry being put-to-flight, runs-up

auxilio suis, quos acceperat jam  
to aid to his (men), whom he had received (heard) [now]

pelli. Denique hostes jam fusi (sunt)  
 to be repulsed. Finally the enemies now were routed  
 undique. Tum horribile spectaculum in  
 on-every-side. Then (was) a horrible sight in  
 patentibus campis ; sequi, fugere ; occidi,  
 the open plains ; (they were seen) to follow, to flee ; to be killed,  
 capi ; equi atque viri afflicti ; ac multi,  
 to be taken ; horses and men dashed-down ; and many,  
 vulneribus acceptis, posse neque fugere,  
 wounds being received, (were seen) to be-able neither to flee,  
 neque pati quietem ; modò niti, ac  
 nor to endure rest ; one-time to lean (to stand-up), and  
 statim concidere : postremò, omnia quà  
 immediately to fall-down : lastly, all (places) where  
 visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus ;  
 the view was, were strewed with darts, with arms, with dead-bodies ;  
 et humus infecta sanguine inter ea. Postea  
 and the ground stained with blood between them. Afterwards  
 loci consul jam victor haud dubiè,  
 of place (after this event) the consul now conqueror not doubtfully,  
 pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quò profectus  
 arrived into the town Cirta, whither having set-out  
 initio intenderat. Eò legati  
 in the beginning he had determined (to arrive). Thither ambassadors  
 veniunt à Boccho post quintum diem, quàm  
 come from Bocchus after the fifth day, than (since)  
 barbari pugnauerant malè iterum ; qui petivêre  
 the barbarians had fought badly again ; who sought  
 ab Mario verbis regis, “Mitteret  
 from Marius in the words of the king, (that) “He would send  
 duos quàm-fidissimos ad eum : velle  
 [two] (persons) as-faithful-as-possible to him : to will  
 disserere cum iis de suo commodo et de  
 to discuss with them about his-own advantage and about (that)  
 Romani populi.” Ille statim jubet L. Sullam et  
 of the Roman people.” He immediately orders Lucius Sylla and  
 A. Manlium ire. Qui, quamquam ibant acciti :  
 Aulus Manlius to go. Who, although they did go sent-for :

tamen, placuit facere verba apud  
 however, it pleased (them) to make words (a speech) at (to)  
 regem, uti aut flecterent avorsum ingenium,  
 the king, that either they might bend a disinclined disposition,  
 aut accenderent vehementiùs cupidum  
 or might inflame (it) more-earnestly (being) desirous  
 pacis. Itaque Sulla, facundiæ cujus  
 of peace. Therefore Sylla, to the eloquence of whom  
 concessum (est) à Manlio, non ætati, locutus (est)  
 it was yielded by Manlio, not to age, spoke  
 pauca verba hujuscemodi: "Rex Bocche, magna  
 a few words of this-kind: "King Bocchus, great  
 lætitia est nobis, cùm dii monuere te talem  
 gladness is to us, when the gods have advised thee such  
 virum, uti aliquando malles pacem  
 a man, that some-time (at length) thou shouldst prefer peace  
 quàm bellum; neu commaculares te optimum  
 than war; nor shouldst stain thyself a very-good (man)  
 miscendo cum Jugurthâ, pessimo omnium: simul,  
 by mingling with Jugurtha, the worst of all: at-the-same-time,  
 demeres nobis acerbam necessitudinem  
 thou shouldst take from us the bitter necessity  
 persequi pariter te errantem, et illum  
 to pursue (punish) equally thee erring, and him  
 sceleratissimum. Ad hoc, visum (est) melius  
 most-guilty. To this (besides), it seemed better  
 Romano populo, inopi jam à principio, quærere  
 to the Roman people, poor already from the beginning, to seek  
 amicos quàm servos; que rati(sunt) tutius imperitare  
 friends than slaves; and they thought safer to rule  
 volentibus quàm coactis. Vero nulla amicitia  
 (them) willing than compelled. But no friendship (is)  
 opportunior tibi nostrâ: primùm, quòd  
 more convenient to thee (than) ours: firstly, because  
 absumus procul; in quo minimum offensæ,  
 we are-distant far; in which (case) the least of offence (is),  
 [there is the least cause of offence, but of] par gratia, ac-si  
 equal favour, as-if



adessemus: dein, quòd habemus parentes  
we might be-at-hand: then, because we have (people) obeying (us)

abundè; satis amicorum fuit neque nobis,  
abundantly; (but) enough of friends has been neither to us,

neque cuiquam omnium. Atque, utinam hoc  
nor to any-one of all. And, O-that this

placuisset tibi à principio! profectò,  
might have pleased to thee from the beginning! certainly,

accepisses multo plura bona ad hoc  
thou mightest have received by much more good (things) to this

tempus, quam perpressus-es mala. Sed quoniam  
time, than thou hast suffered evil. But since

fortuna regit pleraque humanarum rerum, cui  
fortune rules most of human things, to which

scilicet placuisse experiri et nostram  
fersooth she has pleased to try [that you try] both our

vim et gratiam; nunc quando licet per illam,  
force and favour; now when it is-lawful through her,

festina atque perge uti cœpisti. Habes multa  
hasten and proceed as thou hast begun. Thou hast many

atque opportuna quòd superes  
and convenient (means) in-order-that thou may'st exceed

faciliùs errata officiis.  
more-easily (the things) erred-in by kindnesses. [By kind services.]

Postremò, demitte hoc in tuum pectus, Romanum  
Lastly, send-down this into thy breast, the Roman

populum nunquam victum-esse beneficiis. Nam  
people never to have been overcome by favours. For

tute scis quid valeat bello." Bocchus  
thyself knowest what it may prevail in war." Bocchus (answered)

placidè et benignè ad ea; simul facit  
calmly and kindly to those (words); at-the-same-time he makes

pauca verba pro suo delicto:  
a few words for his transgression: [and spoke briefly in ex-

"Se cepisse arma non  
tenuation of his transgression:] "Himself to have taken arms not

hostili animo, sed ob tutandum  
with a hostile mind, but on-account-of protecting (his)

regnum: nam nequivisse pati eam partem  
 kingdom: for to have been-unable to endure that part  
 Numidiæ, unde expulerit (*perf. sub.*) Jugurtham  
 of Numidia, whence he may have expelled (he expelled) Jugurtha  
 vi, factam suam jure belli, vastari à  
 by force, being made his-own by the right of war, to be ravaged by  
 Mario: præterea, legatis missis Romam antea,  
 Marius: besides, ambassadors having been sent to Rome before,  
 repulsum (esse) ab amicitia:  
 to have been rejected [that he was rejected] from friendship:  
 cæterùm omittere vetera, ac missurum  
 but to omit old (matters), and (to be) about-to-send  
 legatos tum ad senatum, si  
 [that he was about to send] ambassadors then to the senate, if  
 liceret per Marium." Dein, copiâ  
 it might-be-lawful through Marius." Afterwards, opportunity  
 factâ, animus barbari flexus (est) ab amicis,  
 being made, the mind of the barbarian was bent by friends,  
 quos Jugurtha, legatione Sullæ et Manlii cognitâ,  
 whom Jugurtha, the embassy of Sylla and of Manlius being known,  
 metuens id quod parabatur, corruerat  
 fearing that which was prepared, had corrupted (bribed)  
 donis. Interea, Marius, exercitu composito in  
 by gifts. Mean-time, Marius, the army being arranged in  
 hibernaculis, proficiscitur cum expeditis cohortibus,  
 winter-stations, sets-out with the light-armed cohorts,  
 et parte equitatûs, in sola loca, obsessum  
 and with part of the cavalry, into lonely places, to besiege  
 regiam turrim, quò Jugurtha imposuerat omnes  
 a royal tower, where Jugurtha had placed all  
 perfugas præsidium. Tum Bocchus rursus, seu  
 deserters (as) a garrison. Then Bocchus again, either  
 reputando quæ venerant sibi duobus  
 by reflecting what (things) had come (happened) to himself in two  
 præliis, seu admonitus ab aliis amicis, quos Jugurtha  
 battles, or advised by other friends, whom Jugurtha  
 reliquerat incorruptos, delegit quinque ex omni  
 had left unbribed, chose five out-of all

copiâ                      necessariorum;                      fides quorum  
the plenty (number)      of connexions;      [friends;] the faith      of whom  
et cognita (est), et ingenia erant validissima.  
both      was known,      and the abilities      were      most-able.

Jubet eos ire legatos ad Marium; ac dein,  
He orders those to go (as) ambassadors to Marius; and then,  
si placeat, Romam: permittit ipsis licentiam  
if it may please (him), to Rome: he allows to them the liberty  
rerum agendarum, et belli componendi quocunque  
of things to-be-acted, and of the war to-be-arranged in whatsoever  
modo.

manner. [He gave them full power to negotiate and bring the war to a

Illi proficiscuntur maturè ad  
close in any manner.] They      set-out      early (soon) to

hiberna Romanorum. Deinde, circumventi  
the winter-quarters of the Romans. Afterwards, being surrounded

que spoliati à Gætulis latronibus in itinere,  
and plundered by Gætulian robbers on the journey,

profugiunt pavidì sine decore ad Sullam,  
they escape fearful without ornament [of office] to Sylla,

quem consul proficiscens in expeditione reliquerat  
whom the consul setting-out on the expedition had left

pro prætore. Ille habuit eos non pro vanis  
for pretor. He had (treated) them not for vain

hostibus, uti meriti-erant, sed accuratè et  
(fickle) enemies, as they had deserved, but carefully and

liberaliter. Quâ re barbari et rati (sunt)  
liberally. By which thing the barbarians both thought

famam avaritiæ Romanorum falsam, et Sullam  
the report of the avarice of the Romans false, and Sylla

amicum in sese ob munificentiam.  
friendly unto themselves on-account-of (his) liberality.

Nam etiam tum largitio erat ignota multis; nemo  
For even then bribery was unknown to many; no-one

putabatur munificus, nisi pariter volens: omnia  
was thought liberal, unless equally willing: all

dona habebantur in benignitate.  
gifts were held in kindness. [As the result of kindness.]

Igitur patefaciunt mandata Bocchi Quæstori;  
Therefore they lay-open the commands of Bocchus to the Quæstor;

simul petunt ab eo, uti adsit  
at-the-same-time they request from him, that he may-be-present (as)

fautor que consultor sibi: extollunt  
a favourer and an adviser to themselves: they praise in (their)

oratione copias, fidem, magnitudinem sui regis,  
speech the forces, faith, greatness of their king,

et alia, quæ credebant aut esse utilia aut  
and other (things), which they did believe either to be useful or

benevolentia;

(the part) of benevolence; [or tending to conciliate his good will;]

dein Sullâ pollicito omnia, docti quo  
then Sylla having promised all (things), being taught in what

modo facerent verba apud Marium, item  
manner they should make words at (before) Marius, also

apud senatum,

at the senate, [they should address Marius, and also the senate,]

opperiuntur ibidem circiter quadraginta dies. Postquam  
they wait there about forty days. After-that

Marius, negotio infecto quò  
Marius, the business being undone [unsuccessful] whither (to which)

intenderat, redit Cirtam, factus certior  
he had aimed, returns to Cirta, being made more-sure [being in-

formed] of the arrival of the ambassadors, jubet que illos  
de adventu legatorum, jubet que illos

et Sullam, que item L. Bellienum prætorem, venire  
and Sylla, and also Lucius Bellienus the prætor, to come

Uticâ, præterea omnes senatorii ordinis undique;  
from Utica, besides all of senatorial rank from-every-side;

quibuscum cognoscit mandata Bocchi, in  
with whom he knows (considers) the commands of Bocchus, in

quibus potestas eundi Romam fit  
which [assembly the] power of going to Rome is made [granted]

legatis; et induciæ postulabantur interea  
to the ambassadors; and truces were requested mean-time

ab consule. Ea placuere Sullæ et  
from [the] consul. Those (things) pleased to Sylla and

plerisque: pauci decernunt ferociùs; scilicet, ignari  
to the most: a few determine more fiercely; forsooth, ignorant

humanarum rerum, quæ, semper fluxæ et mobiles,  
of human things, which, always evanescent and fickle,

mutantur in-adversum. Cæterùm tres Mauri,  
are changed contrarily. But three Moors,

omnibus impetratis, profecti (sunt) Romam cum  
all (things) being obtained, set-out to Rome with

Cn. Octavio Rufo, qui quæstor apportaverat  
Cnæus Octavius Rufus, who (as) quæstor had brought

stipendium in Africam; duo redeunt ad regem.  
the pay [to Africa]; two return to the king.

Bocchus lubens accepit ex his cùm  
Bocchus being-pleased received (heard) from these as-well

cætera, tum maxumè benignitatem et studium  
the-rest, then (as) chiefly the kindness and zeal

Sullæ.

of Sylla. [Bocchus, among the rest, heard with pleasure chiefly of the

Que Romæ

kindness and zeal of Sylla, in forwarding their mission.] And [at Rome]

respondetur hoc modo legatis ejus,  
it is answered in this manner to the ambassadors of him,

petentibus amicitiam et foedus, postquam  
seeking friendship and a treaty, after-that

deprecati-sunt "regem errâsse, et  
they deprecated (lamented) "the king to have erred, and

lapsum (esse) scelere Jugurthæ:" "Senatus  
to have slipped by the wickedness of Jugurtha:" "The senate

et Romanus populus solet esse memor  
and Roman people is accustomed to be mindful

beneficii et injuriæ; cæterùm facit gratiam  
of kindness and of injury; but it makes favour (forgiveness)

delicti Boccho, quoniam poenitet:  
of (his) transgression to Bocchus, since it repents (him):

foedus et amicitia dabuntur, cùm meruerit."  
a treaty and friendship shall be given, when he shall have deserved

Quibus rebus cognitis, Bocchus petivit  
(them)." Which things being known, Bocchus requested



per litteras à Mario, uti mitteret Sullam  
 by letters (a letter) from Marius, that he would send Sylla  
 ad se; arbitrato cujus consuleretur  
 to himself; by the arbitration of whom it might be consulted  
 de communibus negotiis. Is missus (est) cum  
 about (their) common affairs. He was sent with  
 præsidio equitum atque peditum, Baleariorum  
 a guard of horse and of foot, of Balearian  
 funditorum; præterea sagittarii et Peligna cohors  
 slingers; besides archers and a Pelignian cohort  
 cum velitaribus-armis iêre causâ itineris  
 with light-arms went by cause (for the sake) of the journey  
 properandi; neque muniti (sunt) secus  
 to-be-hastened; nor were they protected otherwise (less)  
 his, atque aliis armis advorsum tela  
 with these, and (than) with other arms against the darts  
 hostium, quòd ea sunt levia. Sed denique  
 of the enemies, because those are light. But finally  
 quinto die, Volux, filius Bocchi, ostendit sese  
 on the fifth day, Volux, the son of Bocchus, shows himself  
 in itinere repentè in patentibus campis cum non  
 on the journey suddenly in the open plains with not  
 ampliùs mille equitibus; qui euntes temerè  
 more (than) a thousand horsemen; who going rashly  
 et effusè, efficiebant Sullæ que omnibus  
 (in disorder) and dispersedly, did cause to Sylla and to all  
 aliis et numerum ampliorem vero, et hostilem  
 the others both a number larger (than) truth, and hostile  
 metum.

fear. [Which caused their numbers to appear greater than they really

were to Sylla and the rest, and to excite fear of an approaching enemy.]

Igitur quisque expedire se; tentare arma  
 Therefore every-one (began) to prepare himself; to try (his) arms  
 atque tela, intendere;  
 and darts, [to-bend] [his mind to the approaching engagement;]

aliquantus timor, sed amplior spes, quippe  
 (there was) some fear, but greater hope, inasmuch-as

victoribus, et advorsum eos quos vicerant  
to conquerors, and against those whom they had conquered

sæpè. Interim equites præmissi exploratum,  
often. Meantime the cavalry sent-before to reconnoitre,

nunciant rem quietam, uti erat. Volux adveniens  
announce the affair quiet, as it was. Volux coming-up

appellat quæstorem, se missum (esse) obviam  
addresses the quæstor, (and says) himself to have been sent toward

illis à patre Boccho, et simul præsidio.  
to them by (his) father Bocchus, and at-the-same-time for protection.

Deinde eunt conjuncti sine metu eum et proximum  
Then they go united without fear that and the next

diem. Pòst ubi castra locata (sunt), et  
day. Afterwards when the camps were placed (pitched), and

erat vesper diei, Maurus incerto  
it was the evening of the day, the Moor [Volux] with uncertain

vultu pavens accurrit repentè ad Sullam, que  
countenance trembling runs-up suddenly to Sylla, and

dicit, "Cognitum (esse) sibi ex speculatoribus  
says, "To have been known to himself from scouts

Jugurtham abesse haud procul, simul rogat  
Jugurtha to be-distant not far, at-the-same-time he entreats

atque hortatur profugeret clam secum  
and exhorts (that) he would escape privately with him

noctu." Ille feroci animo negat, "se pertimescere  
by night." He with fierce mind denies, "himself to fear-much

Numidam toties fustum; credere satis virtuti  
the Numidian so-often routed; to trust sufficiently to the valour

suorum; etiam si certa pestis adesset,  
of his (men); even if certain destruction might be-at-hand,

mansurum potiùs quàm quos ducebat,  
(to be) about-to-remain rather than (those) whom he did lead,

proditis, parceret turpi fugâ incertæ vitæ,  
being betrayed, he should spare by base flight to an uncertain life,

ac forsitan interituræ paullo pòst morbo."  
and perhaps about-to-perish a little after by disease."

Cæterùm monitus ab eodem, uti proficiscerentur  
But being admonished by the same, that they should set-out

noctu, approbat consilium; ac statim jubet  
 by night, he approves the plan; and immediately orders  
 milites cœnatos esse in castris; que creberrimos  
 the soldiers having supped to be in the camps; and very-frequent  
 ignes fieri, dein primâ vigiliâ egredi silentio.  
 fires to be made, then in the first watch to go out in silence.  
 Que jam omnibus fessis nocturno itinere,  
 And now all being fatigued with the nightly march,  
 Sulla pariter cum ortu solis metabatur  
 Sylla equally (together) with the rising of the sun did measure  
 castra; cum Mauri equites nunciant Jugurtham  
 camps; when the Moorish cavalry announce Jugurtha  
 consedissee ante eos, intervallo circitèr  
 to have sat-down (encamped) before them, in a distance about  
 duûm millium. Postquam quod auditum-est,  
 of two miles. After-that which (thing) was heard,  
 tum verò ingens metus invadit nostros;  
 then truly great fear seizes our (men); (they began)  
 credere se proditos à Voluce, et circumventos  
 to believe themselves betrayed by Volux, and surrounded  
 insidiis. Ac fuère qui  
 with snares. And there were (those) who would (did)  
 dicerent (*imp. sub.*) vindicandum manu,  
 say (the thing) to be avenged by hand, [that he (Volux)  
 ought to be immediately punished] neque tantum scelus  
 nor so-great guilt  
 relinquendum inultum apud illum. At Sulla,  
 to-be-left unrevenge at (with) him. But Sylla,  
 quamquam existumabat eadem, tamen prohibet  
 although he did think the same (things), however prohibits  
 Maurum ab injuriâ; hortatur suos,  
 (protects) the Moor from injury; encourages his (men),  
 “utì gererent fortem animum; pugnatum (esse)  
 “that they should carry a brave mind; to have been fought  
 sæpè antè benè paucis strenuis advorsus  
 often before well with a few brave (men) against  
 multitudinem; quanto minùs pepercissent  
 a multitude; by-how-much less they might have spared

sibi in prælio, fore tanto tutiores;  
to themselves in battle, to-be-about-to-be by-so-much more safe;

nec decere quemquam, qui armaverit manus,  
nor to become any-one, who may have armed (his) hands,

petere auxilium ab inermis pedibus, in maximo  
to seek aid from (his) unarmed feet, in the greatest

metu, vertere nudum et cæcum corpus ad  
fear, (and) to turn (his) naked and blind body to

hostes." Deinde obtestatus maximum Jovem, ut  
the enemies." Then having attested the greatest Jupiter, that

adesset testis sceleris atque perfidiæ  
he would be-present a witness of the guilt and of the treachery

Bocchi, jubet Volucem abire castris, quoniam  
of Bocchus, he orders Volux to depart from the camps, since

faceret hostilia. Ille lacrumans  
he might (did) do hostile (acts). He weeping (began)

orare "ne-crederet ea; nihil  
to entreat (that) "he would not-believe those (things); nothing

factum (esse) dolo, ac magis calliditate Jugurthæ;  
to have been done by deceit, and more by the craft of Jugurtha;

cui speculanti videlicet suum iter  
to whom watching forsooth his journey might have (had)

cognitum-esset. Cæterùm quoniam  
been known. But since he [Jugurtha] might (did)

haberet (*imp. sub.*) neque ingentem multitudinem,  
have neither a great multitude,

et spes que opes ejus  
and the hopes and resources of him [Jugurtha] might (did)

penderent (*imp. sub.*) ex suo patre, credere  
depend from his [Volux's] father, to believe

illum ausurum nihil palàm, cùm ipse filius  
him about-to-dare nothing openly, when himself (his) son

adesset (*imp. sub.*) testis; quare  
might be (was) present (as) a witness; wherefore

videri optimum factu transire palam per media  
to seem best to be done to pass openly through the middle

castra ejus; sese solum iturum cum  
camps of him [Jugurtha]; himself [Volux] alone about-to-go with

Sullâ, Mauris vel præmissis, vel relictis  
 Sylla, the Moors either being sent-before, or being left

ibidem." Ea res probata (est), uti in tali negotio;  
 there." That thing was approved-of, as in such a business;

ac profecti statim, transeunt incolumes,  
 and having set-out immediately, they pass-over safe,

Jugurthâ dubio atque hæsitante, quia  
 Jugurtha (being) doubtful and hesitating, because

accesserant de-improviso. Deinde  
 they had approached unexpectedly. Afterwards

perventum-est paucis diebus, quò intenderant  
 it was arrived in a few days, whither they had determined

ire. Ibi quidam Numida, nomine Aspar, agebat  
 to go. There a certain Numidian, by name Aspar, did act

multùm et familiariter cum Boccho, præmissus  
 much and familiarly with Bocchus, being sent-before (as)

orator ab Jugurthâ, postquam audierat  
 a pleader [agent] by Jugurtha, after-that he had heard

Sullam accitum, et speculatum subdolè consilia  
 Sylla sent-for, and to watch craftily the designs

Bocchi; præterea Dabar, filius Mussugradæ, ex  
 of Bocchus; besides Dabar, son of Mussugrada, out-of

gente Masinissæ, cæterùm impar materno  
 the nation (family) of Masinissa, but unequal by the maternal

genere, nam pater ejus ortus-erat ex concubinâ;  
 race, for the father of him had sprung from a concubine;

carus que acceptus Mauro ob multa  
 dear and accepted (esteemed) to the Moor on-account-of many

bona ingenii, quem Bocchus expertus  
 good (qualities) of understanding, whom Bocchus having experienced

esse fidum Romanis multis tempestatibus antè,  
 to be faithful to the Romans in many occasions before,

mittit illicò nunciatum ad Sullam, "Sese  
 sends immediately to announce to Sylla, "Himself (to be)

paratum facere quæ Romanus populus vellet;  
 prepared to do what (things) the Roman people might will;

ipse deligeret diem, locum, tempus colloquio;  
 - himself might choose the day, place, time for a conference;



sese habere omnia consulta integra cum illo ;  
himself to have all deliberations entire with him ;

neu pertimesceret

nor he might fear [that he had kept every thing to be deliberated

legatum Jugurthæ :”

with him, so that he might not fear] the ambassador of Jugurtha :”

quò communis res gereretur licentiùs ;  
and in-order-that the common affair might be carried-on more freely ;

nam nequivisse caveri aliter ab insidiis  
for to have been-unable to be guarded otherwise from the snares

ejus. Sed ego comperior Bocchum attinuisse  
of him. But I find Bocchus to have detained

Romanos et Numidam simul spe  
the Romans and the Numidian at-the-same-time with the hope

pacis, magis Punicâ fide, quàm ob ea,  
of peace, rather with Punic faith, than on-account-of those

quæ prædicabat ; que solitum (esse)  
(things), which he did declare ; and to have been accustomed

volvere multùm cum suo animo, traderet  
to revolve much with his mind, (whether) he should deliver

Jugurtham Romanis, an Sullam illi ; libidinem  
Jugurtha to the Romans, or Sylla to him ; desire

suasisse advorsum nos, metum pro nobis.  
to have persuaded (him) against us, fear for us.

Igitur Sulla respondit, se locuturum pauca  
Therefore Sylla answered, himself about-to-speak a few (words)

coram Aspare, cætera occultè, aut nullo, aut  
before Aspar, the rest secretly, either no-one, or

quàm-paucissimis presentibus ; simul edocet  
as-few-as-possible being present ; at-the-same-time he informs

quæ responderentur. Postquam  
(him) what (things) should be answered. After-that

congressi (sunt), sicuti voluerant, dicit se missum  
they met, so-as they had willed, he says himself being sent

à consule venisse, quæsitum ab eo,  
by the consul to have come, to inquire from him, (whether)

foret agitaturus pacem an bellum. Tum  
he might be about-to-transact peace or war. Then

rex, uti fuerat præceptum, jubet redire, post  
 the king, as had been instructed, orders (him) to return, after  
 decimum diem, ac decrevisse nihil etiam nunc,  
 the tenth day, and to have determined nothing even now,  
 sed responsurum illo die. Deinde ambo  
 but about-to-answer in that day. Then both  
 digressi (sunt) in sua castra. Sed ubi plerumque  
 departed into their camps. But when most  
 noctis processit, Sulla arcessitur occultè à  
 of the night advanced, Sylla is sent-for secretly by  
 Boccho; fidi interpretes tantummodò adhibentur  
 Bocchus; faithful interpreters only are applied  
 ab utroque. Præterea, Dabar internuncius,  
 (retained) by each. Besides, Dabar the inter-messenger,  
 sanctus vir, jurat ambobus ex  
 a holy (upright) man, swears to both according-to (their)  
 sententiâ; ac rex statim incipit sic. Ego  
 opinion; and the king immediately begins thus. I  
 nunquam ratus-sum fore, uti maxumus  
 never thought (the thing) to be about-to-be, that the greatest  
 rex in hâc terrâ, et opulentissimus omnium, quos  
 king in this land, and the most-wealthy of all, whom  
 novi, deberem gratiam privato homini. Et  
 I have known, should owe a favour to a private man. And  
 Hercule, Sulla, ante te cognitum, egomet tuli  
 by Hercules, Sylla, before thee being known, I-myself have brought  
 opem ultrò multis aliis orantibus; indigui  
 assistance voluntarily to many others begging (it); I have wanted  
 nullius. Ego lætor id, quod cæteri  
 of none. I rejoice that, which the rest (of the world)  
 solent dolere, imminutum (esse). Fuerit  
 are accustomed to grieve, to have been diminished. It will have been  
 pretium mihi eguisse aliquando tuæ amicitiae;  
 a price (a reward) to me to have wanted [at length] of thy friendship;  
 quâ habeo nihil carius apud meum animum.  
 (than) which I have nothing dearer at (in) my mind.  
 Adeò licet experiri id; sume, utere arma, viros,  
 Thus it is-lawful to try that; take, use arms, men,

pecuniam, postremò quicquid lubet animo; et  
money, lastly whatever it pleases to (thy) mind; and

putaveris gratiam nunquam redditam  
thou shalt have thought (think) the favour never returned

tibi, quoad vives; erit semper integra  
to thee, as-long-as thou shalt live; it shall be always entire

apud me; denique, voles nihil  
with me; finally, thou shalt will [thou shalt want] nothing

frustrà, me sciente. Nam, ut ego existumo,  
in-vain, I knowing (it). For, as I think, (it is)

minus flagitiosum regem vinci armis, quàm  
less disgraceful a king to be conquered by arms, than

munificentiâ. Cæterùm accipe paucis  
by liberality. But receive (hear) in a few (words)

de vestrâ republicâ, cujus missus-es  
concerning your state, of which thou hast been sent

huc curator. Ego neque feci bellum Romano  
hither (as) manager. I neither have made war to the Roman

populo, neque volui unquam factum; tutus-sum  
people, nor have I willed (it) ever made; I have defended

meos fines advorsum armatos armis. Omitto  
my borders against armed (men) by arms. I lay-aside

id; quando placet vobis ita, gerite bellum cum  
that; since it pleases to you thus, carry-on the war with

Jugurthâ, uti vultis. Ego non-egrediar flumen  
Jugurtha, as you will. I shall not-go-without the river

Mulucham, quod fuit inter me et Micipsam,  
Mulucha, which has been between me and Micipsa,

neque sinam Jugurtham intrare id. Præterea, si  
nor will I suffer Jugurtha to enter that. Besides, if

petiveris quid dignum que me que  
thou shalt have sought any (thing) worthy both me and

vobis, (abl.) abibis haud repulsus. Sulla disseruit  
you, thou shalt depart not rejected. Sylla discoursed

breviter et modicè ad ea pro se; multis  
briefly and moderately to those (words) for himself; in many (words)

de pace et communibus rebus. Denique, patefecit  
about peace and the common affairs. Finally, he disclosed

regi, "Senatum et Romanum populum non  
 to the king, "The senate and Roman people not  
 habituros in gratiâ, quod polliceatur (*pres. sub.*),  
 about-to-have in favour, what he may promise (does promise),  
 quoniam valuissent ampliùs armis; aliquid  
 since they might have prevailed more by arms; some  
 faciundum, quod videretur retulisse illorum,  
 (thing) to-be-done, which might seem to have concerned of them,  
 magis quàm suâ, adeo id esse in promptu,  
 more than his-own (interest), thus that to be in readiness  
 quoniam haberet copiam  
 (easily done), since he might (did) have power  
 Jugurthæ, quem si tradidisset Romanis,  
 of Jugurtha, whom if he might have (had) delivered to the Romans,  
 fore, ut plurimum deberetur illi;  
 to be about-to-be, that very-much should be-due to him;  
 amicitiam, fœdus, partem Numidiæ, quam  
 friendship, a treaty, the part of Numidia, which he might (did)  
 peteret (*imp. sub.*) nunc, adventuram tunc  
 solicit now, about-to-come-to (him) then  
 ultrò." Rex primò negitare affinitatem,  
 voluntarily." The king firstly (began) to deny-often [that] affinity,  
 cognationem, præterea fœdus intervenisse;  
 kindred, besides a treaty to have intervened [existed be-  
 tween them]; to ad hoc metuere, ne usus  
 to this (besides) to fear, lest having used  
 fluxâ fide averteret animos  
 an unsteady faith [bad faith] he might turn-away the minds of (his)  
 popularium, quibus et Jugurtha carus et  
 countrymen, to whom both Jugurtha (was) dear and  
 Romani essent invisi. Denique, fatigatus  
 the Romans might be (were) hateful. Finally, being importuned  
 sæpiùs, lenitur; et promittit se facturum  
 more-frequently, he is softened; and promises himself about-to-do  
 omnia ex voluntate Sullæ. Cæterùm  
 all (things) according-to the will of Sylla. But  
 constituunt quæ visa (sunt) utilia ad pacem  
 they settle what (things) seemed useful to peace

simulandam, cujus Numida, defessus bello,  
to-be-feigned, of which the Numidian, wearied by the war, (was)

avidissimus. Ita dolo composito, digrediuntur.  
most-eager. Thus the plot being arranged, they separate.

At rex postero die appellat Asparem,  
But the king on the following day calls Aspar,

legatum Jugurthæ, que dicit cognitum (esse)  
the ambassador of Jugurtha, and says (it) to have been known

ex Sullâ, per Dabarem, bellum posse componi  
from Sylla, through Dabar, the war to be-able to be arranged

conditionibus: quamobrem exquireret sententiam  
by conditions: wherefore he should seek the opinion

sui regis. Ille, lætus, venit in castra Jugurthæ.  
of his king. He, glad, came into the camps of Jugurtha.

Deinde edoctus cuncta ab illo, itinere  
Then being instructed all (things) by him, the journey

properato, redit ad Bocchum post octavum  
being hastened, he returns to Bocchus after the eighth

diem, et nunciat ei, Jugurtham cupere facere  
day, and announces to him, Jugurtha to desire to do

omnia, quæ imperarentur; sed fidere  
all (things), which might be commanded; but to trust [but that

parum Mario: pacem conventam cum  
he trusted] little to Marius: the peace agreed-on with

Romanis imperatoribus fuisse frustrâ sæpè antè.  
the Roman commanders to have been in-vain often before.

Cæterùm si Bocchus vellet, consultum ambobus,  
But if Bocchus might will, to consult for both,

et ratam pacem, daret operam, ut  
and a stable peace, he should give (his) assistance, that

veniretur unâ in colloquium ab omnibus,  
it might be come together into a conference by all,

quasi de pace; que  
[that all should meet in conference,] as-if about the peace; and

ibi traderet Sullam sibi: cùm  
there he should deliver Sylla to himself: when he might (did)

haberet talem virum in potestate, tum fore,  
have such a man in (his) power, then to be about-to-be



utì foedus fieret jussu senatûs que  
that a treaty might be made by command of the senate and

Romani populi; neque nobilem hominem  
of the Roman people; neither a noble man

relictum-iri in potestate hostium, non suâ  
to be about-to-be-left in the power of enemies, [not by his

ignavirâ, sed ob rempublicam. Maurus  
indolence, [or fault], but] on-account-of the commonwealth. The Moor

ipse, volvens hæc diu secum, tandem  
himself, revolving these (things) long with himself, at-length

promisit. Cæterùm comperimus parum  
promised. But we have discovered little (whether)

cunctatus (est) dolo, an verè. Sed ut regiæ  
he delayed by deceit, or truly. But as royal

voluntates plerumque vehementes, sic  
wills (are) generally vehement, so (they are)

mobiles; ipsæ sæpè advorsæ sibi. Postea  
fickle; themselves often opposite to themselves. Afterwards

tempore et loco constituto, utì veniretur in  
a time and place being appointed, that it might be come into

colloquium de pace, Bocchus appellare Sullam  
a conference about peace, Bocchus (began) to address Sylla

modò, legatum Jugurthæ modò; habere  
now, the ambassador of Jugurtha now; to have (treat them)

benignè; polliceri idem ambobus. Illi  
kindly; to promise the same (thing) to both. They (began)

esse pariter læti, ac pleni bonæ spei. Sed eâ  
to be equally glad, and full of good hope. But in that

nocte, quæ fuit proxuma antè diem decretum  
night, which was the next before the day decreed

colloquio, Maurus, amicis adhibitis,  
for the conference, the Moor, (his) friends being applied (called-in),

ac voluntate immutatâ, cæteris remotis,  
and (his) will being changed, the rest being removed,

ipse dicitur agitavisse multa secum, varius  
himself is said to have pondered much with himself, changeable

pariter vultu corporis atque animo: quæ  
equally in the look of (his) body and in mind: which

scilicet, ipso tacente, patefecisse  
 forsooth, himself being-silent, (tended) to have disclosed

occulta pectoris. Tamen, postremò, jubet  
 the hidden (things) of the breast. However, lastly, he orders

Sullam arcessiri; et tendit insidias Numidæ  
 Sylla to be sent-for; and stretches (lays) snares for the Numidian

ex sententiâ ejus. Deinde ubi dies advenit,  
 according-to the opinion of him. Then when the day came,

et nunciatum-est ei Jugurtham abesse haud  
 and it was announced to him Jugurtha to be-distant not

procul, procedit obvius, quasi causâ  
 far, he proceeds opposite (towards), as-if by cause (for the sake)

honoris, cum paucis amicis et nostro quæstore,  
 of honour, with a few friends and our quæstor, [Sylla,]

in tumulum facillum visu insidiantibus.  
 unto a hillock very-easy to be seen to (those) lying-in-wait.

Numida accedit eodem cum plerisque suis  
 The Numidian approaches to the same (place) with most-of his

necessariis inermis, ut dictum-erat; ac  
 friends unarmed, as had been said (appointed); and

statim signo dato, invaditur undique  
 [immediately] a signal being given, he is attacked from-every-side

simul ex insidiis. Cæteri obtruncati (sunt):  
 together from the ambuscades. The rest were slaughtered:

Jugurtha traditur vinctus Sullæ, et deductus  
 Jugurtha is delivered-up bound to Sylla, and was conducted

ab eo ad Marium. Per idem tempus,  
 by him to Marius. Through (during) the same time,

pugnatum (est) malè advorsum Gallos ab nostris  
 it was fought badly against the Gauls by our

ducibus Q. Cæpione, et M. Manlio. Quo metu  
 generals Quintus Cæpio, and Marcus Manlius. From which fear

omnis Italia contremuerat. Que illi et  
 all Italy had trembled. And those (Romans) and

Romani inde, usque ad nostram memoriam habuêre  
 the Romans thence, until to our memory held

sic; omnia alia esse prona  
 (the matter) thus; all other (things) to be inclined (yielding)

suæ virtuti; certare cum Gallis pro salute, non pro  
 to their valour; to contend with the Gauls for safety, not for  
 gloriâ. Sed postquam nunciatum (est) bellum  
 glory. But after-that it was announced the war  
 confectum (esse) in Numidiâ, et Jugurtham adduci  
 to have been finished in Numidia, and Jugurtha to be led  
 vinctum Romam, Marius, absens, factus-est  
 bound to Rome, Marius, (though) absent, was made  
 consul, et provincia, Gallia decreta (est) ei; que  
 consul, and the province, Gaul was decreed to him; and  
 is triumphavit consul magnâ gloriâ Januariis  
 he triumphed (as) consul with great glory in the Januarian  
 calendis. Ex eâ tempestate, spes atque opes  
 calends. From that time, the hopes and resources  
 civitatis sitæ in illo.  
 of the state (were) placed in him.

THE END.



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HISTORICAL SCHOOL PUBLICATIONS

OF

CHARLES DESILVER.

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LORD'S HISTORY.

*A Modern History,*

FROM THE TIME OF LUTHER TO THE FALL OF NAPOLEON.

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

BY JOHN LORD, A.M.,

LECTURER ON HISTORY.

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Of the fitness of Mr. Lord to prepare such a history, some opinion may be formed from a perusal of the English and American testimonials of his Historical Lectures, a few of which are appended.

## HISTORICAL SERIES.

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### ENGLISH TESTIMONIALS.

*From the Citizens of Edinburgh.*

TO THE REV. JOHN LORD, A. M., OF THE UNITED STATES.

REV. SIR,—Having learned that you are at present visiting this city, and having heard of the Lectures which you have recently delivered in London and other places in the South, on “Monastic Institutions,” “the Reformation and its consequences,” and other kindred topics, and being aware of the very high approval with which these Lectures have been received by the most competent judges, we earnestly request you to afford to the inhabitants of this city the advantage which has been reaped by our friends in the South, by delivering, in some suitable place, these Lectures, or such portion of them as you may judge advisable.

THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D., LL.D.

JOHN BROWN, D.D.

WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM, D.D.

THOMAS J. CRAWFORD, D.D.

W. LINDSAY ALEXANDER, D.D.

JAMES GRANT, D.D.

ROB. S. CANDLISH, D.D.

And twenty-three other Professors and Ministers.

---

### *Resolutions offered in Boston.*

Rev. S. K. Lothrop, after a few introductory remarks, offered the following resolutions:

*Resolved 1st*, That we have listened with great interest and satisfaction to the course of very able and instructive Historical Lectures delivered by Mr. Lord, and completed this evening.

*Resolved 2d*, That the subjects selected for these Lectures were, in our judgment, admirably adapted to illustrate the important principles involved in some of the great social struggles of the Middle Ages—a portion of history too much neglected—and were discussed by the lecturer in a clear yet condensed and comprehensive style, with great vigor and discrimination of thought, and with broad, impartial, and just reflections.

*Resolved 3d*, That Mr. Lord's enthusiastic devotion to historical studies, and his large acquisitions in this department of learning, eminently qualify him to be an able and instructive Teacher of History, and entitle him to the respect of scholars and the encouragement of the community.

DANIEL SHARP, *Chairman.*

THOS. B. HALL, *Secretary.*

## HISTORICAL SERIES.

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*From W. B. HODGSON, LL.D., Principal of the Mechanics' Institute, Liverpool.*

The Rev. JOHN LORD has just delivered at this institution a course of Lectures on the Middle Ages. These Lectures have throughout attracted large audiences, who have listened with respectful attention and marked delight to Mr. Lord's eloquent and just delineations of the institutions and customs of European society, during a period intensely interesting to the philosophical student of History.

W. B. HODGSON,  
*Principal of the Mechanics' Institute, Liverpool.*

---

*From the Citizens of New Haven.*

At the close of the Lectures by the Rev. Mr. Lord, the following resolutions were proposed and unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That we have listened with great interest to the elegant and instructive course of Lectures on the Middle Ages, and that their uncommon value induces us to desire that a greater portion of our community may have an opportunity of hearing them.

*Resolved*, That Hon. A. N. Skinner, Rev. Dr. Bacon, and Professor D. Olmstead, be a committee to express our thanks to Mr. Lord, for the pleasure and instruction which his Lectures have afforded us, and to ascertain whether he can be induced to repeat the course for the benefit of many persons who are desirous of hearing them.

---

*From the Faculty of Union College.*

The Rev. John Lord has, by request, recently delivered six of his Historical Lectures before the senior class in this College. The undersigned have heard most of them, and take pleasure in expressing their approbation of the manner in which Mr. L. has treated some of the most interesting and difficult points and characters of European history. His knowledge is extensive, his views impartial and comprehensive, and his style of lecturing exceedingly well fitted to guide the studies of youth in the important branch of literature to which he is devoted.

ELIPHALET NOTT,  
THOMAS REED,  
JONATHAN PEARSON,  
M. N. LAMOVEN,  
HIRAM H. PENNY,  
HORACE POTTER.

## HISTORICAL SERIES.

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Of the book itself some estimate may be formed from the following testimonials, selected from among a great number received. It is used in many Colleges in the country, among them Yale and Dartmouth.

*Copy of a Letter from* PRESIDENT SPARKS, *of Harvard College.*

DEAR SIR, — Allow me to thank you for the copy of your Modern History, which you had the goodness to send me. With such leisure as I could command I have perused several of the chapters. The work appears to me well adapted to attain the objects you propose. Much skill is shown in the selection of facts, and in preserving the natural order of events. The narrative is clear, the style is animated and perspicuous, the estimate of the characters and motives of the prominent actors is discriminating and judicious, and above all, there is an enlarged and generous spirit running through the whole which produces the conviction that the author everywhere aims at truth, impartiality and strict justice.

With best wishes for the success of your efforts to render attractive and useful the great lessons of history,

I am respectfully and truly yours,

JARED SPARKS.

---

*Copy of a Letter from* REV. DR. TAPPAN, *formerly Professor of History and Philosophy in the University of New York.*

I have used Mr. Lord's History in my school, and am satisfied from the experiment, that it is one of the most valuable text-books in this department which has been issued from the press in this country or in England. It unites the qualities of brevity and clearness, with a power to interest which is rarely found in works of this class.

---

*Copy of a Letter from* PROF. H. WEBSTER, *Principal of the New York Free Academy.*

I have read with pleasure the Modern History, from the time of Luther to the fall of Napoleon, by the Rev. J. Lord. This book possesses great merit; it is written in a most captivating style, with a strong exhibition of the love of truth. I scarcely know any work on history as interesting, or better calculated to answer a most valuable purpose in the cause of education; besides being especially useful as a text-book, it may be read to advantage by almost any person in any walk of life.



## HISTORICAL SERIES.

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*Extract from an article in the BIBLICAL REPOSITORY and PRINCETON REVIEW.*

It was one object of Mr. Lord to furnish, in somewhat moderate compass, for the use of students and young persons generally, a substitute for those wretched, lifeless skeletons, with which publishers and paid book makers are flooding us, under the name of abridgements, or histories for the use of schools. We have lately had the opportunity of hearing the young members of a family, enjoying the advantage of the most popular schools in an adjoining city, preparing their recitations on history. The process was just such as might have been anticipated from the character of the books they were "studying." The sentences were cut up into clauses, containing half an idea, or no idea at all, and sometimes even the most palpable falsehood, and all memorized, with the same unthinking, parrot-like repetitions; until by the law of physical association, the utterance of the word drew after it the utterance of the next, and so the sentence and paragraph were finally completed. Of course history cannot be learned in any such way; nor indeed any thing else of the kind, (for we found children trying to learn astronomy, natural philosophy, chemistry, natural history, and we know not how much more, in the same way;) and for the purposes of education, the effect of the process seemed to us to solve the problem of developing the minimum of intellect, and supplying the minimum of useful and wholesome knowledge. We do not believe any one could practise this method upon the volume before us. It has too much vitality, to be cut up into inch pieces, for the purpose of study. The most conspicuous characteristic of Mr. Lord as a historian, is enthusiasm in his favourite subject. And like all genuine enthusiasm, it imparts itself to his reader.

---

The book before us goes over the most important period in the history of the world—a period of three hundred eventful years! The author lays claim to no originality of investigation: how could he, in a historical compend of three centuries? but the arrangement, the style, and the sentiments are his own.

Our literary institutions have long felt the need of such a work. Tytler, full of dry statistics, with no beauty of style or diction, is unfit for a text-book. Taylor's Manual, although well-written, lacks method, and perplexes rather than instructs the mind.

Mr. Lord has wove into his work, all the leading features and events of that long and important age, and clothed the whole in his own happy and agreeable style of thoughts. He merits the scholar's thanks for so instructive a book, and we hope it may meet with an extensive circulation.—*New York Protestant Churchman.*

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*Copy of a Letter from PROF. WEST, Principal of Rutgers Institute,  
New York.*

Mr. Lord's work on Modern History is one of the most valuable contributions to school literature that has been made in many years. It is not composed of shreds and patches, as are most of the treatises in this department of knowledge, but elaborated from a mind imbued with the spirit of history. It is a living book, and presents the great events of an age in an attractive manner. Its style is beautifully simple and graphic. It is remarkable for its condensation and clearness, and is eminently free from narrow and sectarian views.

I know of no book of the kind so well fitted for the purpose of education as this. It has been used in this Institution the past year, and so great has been the interest taken in it by my pupils, that I feel warranted in recommending it to the attention of teachers generally.

CHAS. E. WEST.

*Rutgers Institute, New York,*

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The best recommendation which can be given to Lord's History is that it recognizes a God in History, and assigns Him His proper agency in the government of this world.—*Christian Secretary, Hartford, Ct.*

---

It is rather late in the day to produce a "Modern History" which can lay claim to much of originality or research, but Mr. Lord's aim is not to compete on these grounds with his predecessors on the same field, but to simplify and concentrate, according to his own system of arrangement, the facts and data which go to make up the sum and substance of the many histories already before the world. The work is intended for the use of schools and instructors, and in accordance with this plan its method has been adopted.—*New York Literary World.*

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This is a volume of very attractive appearance, prepared by a well-read and warm-hearted man, full of his subject, full of matter, and full of scholar-like enthusiasm. It goes over the ages from the time of Luther to the fall of Napoleon. Though professedly written "for the use of schools and colleges," it is admirably fitted for the instruction of that best of all schools—the domestic circle.—*Boston Puritan and Recorder.*

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Lord's History contains a vast amount of valuable information on subjects of which no one should be ignorant. It betrays no spirit of political prejudice or religious bigotry; and for the most part derives its materials from unexceptionable sources. Its general correctness cannot be impeached.—*Southern Christian Advocate, Charleston, S. C.*

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*From the Pennsylvania Inquirer, Philadelphia.*

PINNOCK'S GOLDSMITH'S GREECE, ROME, AND ENGLAND.—The popularity of these histories is almost without a parallel among our school books. Their use is co-extensive with the English language, and their names are familiar to all who have received an English education. But if permitted to remain as they came from the hands of the author, they would soon be antiquated; for not only is the stream of modern history flowing onward, but numerous scholars are constantly making researches into that of ancient times. These works are therefore frequently revised, and thus the labours of successive individuals are added to those of the gifted man who wrote them. The present edition is quite an improvement on the former ones. Several important matters which had before been omitted, have been introduced into the text, numerous notes and several new cuts have been added, and every chapter commences with one or more well selected poetical lines, which express the subject of the chapter, and will assist the memory as well as improve the taste of the student. We feel assured that these additions will increase the reputation which these works have hitherto so deservedly sustained.

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*From JOHN M. KEAGY, Friends' Academy, Philadelphia.*

I consider Pinnock's edition of Goldsmith's History of England as the best edition of that work which has as yet been published for the use of schools. The tables of contemporary sovereigns and eminent persons, at the end of each chapter, afford the means of many useful remarks and comparisons with the history of other nations. With these views, I cheerfully recommend it as a book well adapted to school purposes.

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*From MR. J. F. GOULD, Teacher, Baltimore.*

Having examined Pinnock's improved edition of Dr. Goldsmith's History of Rome, I unhesitatingly say, that the style and elegance of the language, the arrangement of the chapters, and the questions for examination render it, in my estimation, a most valuable school book:—I therefore most cheerfully recommend it to teachers, and do confidently trust that it will find an extensive introduction into the schools of our country.



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*From the New York Evening Post.*

A well written and authentic History of France possesses unusual interest at the present time. It becomes especially valuable when, as in the present case, it has been prepared with questions as a text book for common schools and seminaries, by a scholar so accomplished as Dr. Taylor. The work has passed through three editions in England. The American editor has added one chapter on the late revolutions, bringing the history down to 1848, and has added to its value by illustrations throughout, portraying the costume and the principal events of the reigns of which it treats.

This treatise goes back to the origin of the Celtic race, or the Cimbrians, as the offspring of Gomer, peopling the north and east of Europe on the one hand, and to the descendants of Cush—under the names of Scythians, Tartars, Goths, and Scots, warlike, wandering tribes, on the other, tracing the migrations of the latter till they drove the Celts westward, and the Rhine forms the boundary between the two nations. From the Gauls it goes on to the reign of the Franks, Charlemagne, the Carolingian race, the history of Normandy, and the history of France from the first crusade through its lines of monarchies and its revolutions, to 1848. The style is clear and forcible, and from the compactness of the work, forming, as it does, a complete chain of events in a most important part of the history of Europe, it will be found interesting and valuable for general readers, or as a text-book in our schools. It is comprised in 444 pages, 12mo., and contains a chronological index and genealogy of the kings of France.

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Want of space prevents us from inserting all the recommendations received: we however present the names of the following gentlemen, who have given their recommendations to the Histories:

SIMEON HART, Jr., *Farmington, Conn.*

REV. D. R. AUSTIN, *Principal of Monmouth Academy, Monson, Mass.*

T. L. WRIGHT, A.M., *Prin. E. Hartford Classical and English School.*

REV. N. W. FISKE, A.M., *Professor Amherst College, Mass.*

E. S. SNELL, A.M., *Professor Amherst College, Mass.*

REV. S. NORTH, *Professor Languages, Hamilton College, N. Y.*

W. H. SCRAM, A.M., *Prin. Classical and English Academy, Troy, N. Y.*

JAMES F. GOULD, *Principal of Classical School, Baltimore.*

A. B. MYERS, *Principal of Whitehall, Academy, New York.*

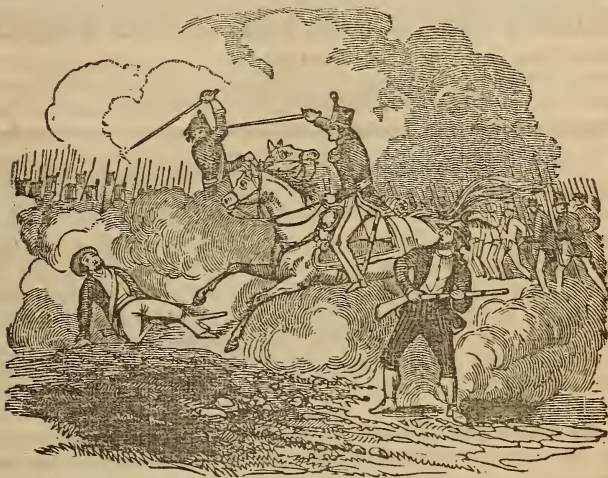
HORACE WEBSTER, *Professor Geneva College, N. Y.*

W. C. FOWLER, *Professor Middlebury College, Vermont.*

B. S. NOBLE, *Bridgeport, Conn.*

REV. S. B. HOWE, *Late President of Dickenson College.*

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The numerous testimonials to the merit of this work, and its popularity evinced quite unequivocally by the sale of ten thousand copies within a few months after its first publication, afford a strong presumption that the author has succeeded in his purpose of making it a first-rate school history

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✂ The above works have recently been revised by the author, and brought down to the occupation of the city of Mexico by General Scott.

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The following are selected from a large number of recommendations of the above work, which have been received by the publishers. It has been adopted by the Controllers of the Public Schools of the City and County of Philadelphia, and by other committees of public schools in various parts of the country:

*From R. CONNOLLY, Teacher, Baltimore.*

I have examined Frost's History of the United States, just published, and cheerfully recommend it to the attention of teachers as a very superior work of the kind. In style, a most important point in works of this character, it is decidedly superior to some of the most popular historical compends now used in our schools and academies.

---

*From E. B. HARNEY, Teacher, Baltimore.*

DEAR SIR,—I have long felt the want of a good History of the United States, and was pleased to have the opportunity of perusing Frost's. I am so much pleased with its elegance of language, neat arrangement, copious questions, and style of getting up, that I shall at once introduce it into my school, and use my influence to give it a wide circulation.

---

This is to certify, that Frost's History of the United States has been adopted as a class-book by the Controllers of the Public Schools of the First School District of Pennsylvania, and is in general use in the Public Schools of the City and County of Philadelphia.

R. PENN SMITH,  
*Secretary of the Board of Controllers*  
(14)

## HISTORICAL SERIES.

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*From WILLIAM RUSSELL, Editor of the American Journal of Education.  
First Series.*

I am glad to see that the History of the United States, which you announced some time since, has made its appearance. I have been gratified with the perusal of the volume; and I take pleasure in saying that it appears to me in every respect well executed. It avoids the fault with which most compilations are chargeable—that of merely sketching a general outline of the events, too brief and abstract to gain the attention of the student. It is free, at the same time, from injudicious prolixity and detail.

The style is clear, concise and spirited; free on the one hand from the ambitious and rhetorical character, and on the other, from the negligence and inaccuracy into which most of our popular compends have fallen.

As a History of the United States, it is, in my opinion, more full and more exact than any of the same size, and in all other respects preferable, as a book intended to aid the business of instruction.

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We fully concur in the sentiments above expressed:

G. J. HOPPER,  
RUFUS LOCKWOOD,  
ROYAL MANN,  
JOHN OAKLY,  
HENRY SWORDS,  
GEORGE INGRAM,  
J. C. TREADWELL,  
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*Principal of a Classical Academy.*  
SAMUEL GARDNER,  
D. STENENS,  
SAMUEL BROWN,  
JOSEPH M. ELY,  
P. PERRINE,  
SAMUEL RICHARDS,  
*New York.*

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These invaluable Histories are extensively used in the schools of New York, Baltimore, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, St. Louis, New Orleans, &c. and have recently been adopted by the Superintendent of the Public Schools in Arkansas.

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## A New History of the United States of America,

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This work is written in the attractive style for which the author is so noted, and is admirably calculated to produce in the minds of pupils who shall use it a love for the study.

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### NOTICES.

*From the Philadelphia American Courier.*

This may very safely be pronounced a much needed and at the same time a most admirably executed volume for the schools of the country, and for which we unhesitatingly predict great popularity and an immense demand. The great leading facts in our national history are presented in plain, well expressed terms, without verboseness or ambiguity, by one who has proved himself to be an able scholar, a just historian, and a patriot of enlarged, liberal views. It is just the work to give the youthful mind right and lasting impressions of the history of the country.

*From the New York Evening Mirror.*

It is not only an excellent School History, but an excellent general history, that may be perused with profit by readers of all ages and acquisitions.

*From the Philadelphia City Item.*

This book will supply a deficiency long acknowledged in school literature. We doubt if any other man in the country is so well calculated to write this history. Mr. Lord is a great favourite of ours. His style is eminently lucid, vigorous, and comprehensive. We think we can, without fear of contradiction, pronounce him a master of the English tongue. With a wealth of language known to but few, he is singularly simple in his choice of words. His sentences are direct and to the point, and his matter is always the gist of the story. These are rare qualifications, and almost indispensable in a historian. We shall be mistaken if this work is not at once hailed with acclamation as by far the best school history in the United States yet published. It should at once be introduced into our Public Schools.



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# CHANDLER'S COMMON SCHOOL GRAMMAR.

A GRAMMAR OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE,  
ADAPTED TO THE USE OF THE SCHOOLS OF AMERICA,

BY JOSEPH R. CHANDLER,  
LATE EDITOR OF THE UNITED STATES GAZETTE.

---

A few notices from among a great number received are subjoined.

## WARD SCHOOLS OF NEW YORK.

The undersigned, Commissioners and Inspectors of Common Schools of the 13th Ward, having, with much care and deliberation, examined Chandler's Grammar of the English language, are of opinion that for scientific arrangement, happy illustration, and judicious application of the principles of Grammar to language, it is unequalled by any work of the kind extant. We have, therefore, adopted it to be used in the Ward Schools under our charge.

WILLIAM A. WALTERS, }  
JAMES H. COOK, } *Commissioners.*

CHAS. D. FIELD, *Inspector.*

---

The undersigned, having examined Chandler's English Grammar with a view to ascertain its adaptation to the purpose of teaching, take great pleasure in recommending the same as a work of superior merit.

The prominent features which seem to recommend the book strongly to the undersigned, are, first, the system of commencing the study with the business of inductive parsing; the introduction of the different parts of speech progressively; with a correct reference to definitions, together with the uniform simplicity of explanation.

It is the only text-book on this subject now in use in Ward School No. 19, containing over twelve hundred pupils.

W. C. KIBB, *Principal Male Department Ward School, No. 19.*

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From among a great number of commendatory notices received from essayists, the press, and teachers of elocution, a few are subjoined.

---

*From E. P. WHIPPLE, Esq., the well-known Essayist and Critic.*

We have no hesitation in saying that this is the best compilation of the kind, in the variety and in the comprehensiveness of its selections, which has been made on either side of the Atlantic. The various pieces are selected with great judgment from a long array of celebrated orators and writers. A good portion of the work is devoted to extracts from late speeches in France, England, and America, which have never before appeared in a collection of the kind; and the works of the great masters of eloquence, Chatham, Burke, Pitt, Fox, Grattan, Emmett, Shiel, and Webster, have been carefully studied for new specimens. The original translations from the French are admirably executed, and add a novel feature to the work. The amount of editorial labor expended on the whole compilation must have been very great — greater, we think, than that of any other Speaker.

The introductory treatise on Oratory and Elocution is a model of condensation, full of matter, clear, sensible, and available in every part. Not only is the volume admirably adapted to serve its primal purpose as a Speaker, but to the general reader it will be found to be a most stimulating and attractive book, better than any work of "elegant extracts" we have seen.

## SARGENT'S STANDARD SPEAKER.

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While he (the compiler) has retained all the indispensable masterpieces, and restored many that have been omitted from the collections the last twenty years, he has given an amount of fresh, new, and appropriate matter, that will astonish and delight the youthful prize-seeking orators of our academies and schools. He has translated from Mirabeau and Victor Hugo a number of speeches of appropriate length, that will become as familiar as the "Give me liberty or give me death" speech of Patrick Henry.

---

*From E. S. DIXWELL, Esq., late Principal of the Public Latin School, Boston.*

The volume seems to me to be a very valuable one, and to contain more available matter than any book of the kind I ever saw. Beside the old standard pieces, you have given us a great many new ones, and, to my surprise, have put a new vigor into some of the old translations, which makes them quite new and redolent of their originals.

---

*From the Lowell Courier.*

The whole range of ancient and modern oratory, pulpit, forensic, or occasional, as well as of poetry, dramatic, lyrical, or epic, has been explored, and the choicest gems from each brought together into this literary casket. The volume should be on the table of every friend of elegant letters, as a collection of rare and beautiful extracts, to be read and read again.

---

*From the Boston Daily Advertiser.*

The volume deserves to be, what its title claims, a "STANDARD SPEAKER."

---

*From the New York Express.*

The Standard Speaker is one of the most superbly executed works that ever emanated from the American press, and is the best book for the purposes for which it was designed, ever issued in the language. It must become a standard school-book, wherever reading and elocution are taught.

---

*From the New York Home Journal.*

The chimerical "systems," through which a short cut to the attainment of good elocution is promised, are set down at their true value. All the available information on the subject is here summed up. The principal department is the Senatorial; and this is much more full and satisfactory than anything of the kind that has yet appeared in any elocutionary collection.

---

It is adapted to the wants of the whole Union, and not of a section.—*New Orleans Picayune.*

## SARGENT'S STANDARD SPEAKER.

---

*From the Springfield (Mass.) Republican.*

The most thorough in its adaptation to its general purpose, and the most extended in its range, of any of the Speakers that have preceded it. The book is fresh, the pieces are of the right length, and are selected with most critical care.

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*From the Salem (Mass.) Register.*

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*From FRANCIS GARDNER, Esq., Principal of the Public Latin School, Boston.*

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*From G. F. THAYER, Esq., President of the American Institute, and Principal of the Chauncey Place School, Boston.*

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---

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---

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The great feature of the work is the completeness of the Senatorial Department. in which he has introduced not only passages of rare beauty and effect from Chatham, Burke, Grattan, Shiel, Macaulay, and many others,—all the passages of the right length for speaking,—but has given some translations from Mirabeau, Victor Hugo, and other great speakers of France, which will become great favorites in schools and elocutionary classes.

---

*From the Boston Daily Traveller.*

We are disposed to believe this book will, in very deed, become the Standard Speaker for our schools, &c. We know not where the student can find so extensive and choice a collection of pieces for declamation.



## SARGENT'S STANDARD SPEAKER.

---

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This Speaker speaks as never Speaker spake before. \* \* \* The work is executed with great discretion, to the careful exclusion of every sentiment, however eloquently expressed, not fit to be uttered by the most fastidious. Whatever we get *by heart* in our youth, is truly *gotten by heart*. It is therefore eminently desirable to impress the rising generation with sentiments of pure and holy patriotism; to teach them to utter those sentiments with their lips; to cherish them in their warm, young hearts, and to rivet them there for ever. *For this truly important object, this volume is pre-eminently useful.*

---

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It is the paramount duty of him who prepares a work like this, to exclude every sentiment whose tendency is mischievous, however eloquently uttered, and to suffer nothing there *unfit to be treasured through life, and remembered in a dying hour*. We have examined this work with attention, and are happy to perceive that Mr. Sargent has exercised a sound discretion in this important particular. This work may well claim precedency, *longo intervallo*, of all similar productions with which we are acquainted.

---

*From the New York Commercial Advertiser.*

It deserves to become "THE STANDARD SPEAKER" in the highest schools throughout the Union. We know no collection of specimens of remarkable orators heretofore published, that can be compared with it in variety or extent. It has evidently been Mr. Sargent's aim to compile a work which would leave nothing to be desired for educational purposes. There is scarcely a name in the catalogue of the *world's* orators which does not appear in the index to this MAGAZINE OF ELOQUENCE. The editorial labor must have been arduous; but it has been performed with great accuracy and discrimination.

---

*From the Boston Post.*

It has been prepared with care, industry, and good taste, and is no lazy gleaner from the labors of others.

---

*From the Fitchburg Reveille.*

The value of the work is much enhanced by an introductory treatise on Oratory and Elocution, in which the author has manifested his good sense and judgment by rejecting the customary humbug of a tiresome series of artificial rules for reading, by written formulas and rhetorical notation, which, *during several years of experience as a teacher*, we have found productive of no other result than to weary and disgust the young pupil, with, to him, an incomprehensible jargon, and a set of useless or cabalistic signs.

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From WILLIAM RUSSELL, ESQ., *Teacher of Elocution, first Editor of the Journal of Education.*

DEAR SIR,—The American Speaker, edited by Mr. Frost, is, I think, one of the best volumes for practical exercises in elocution, that instructors or students can find. The rules and principles laid down in the introductory part of the book, comprise whatever is most useful in Walker's system, as abridged by Mr. Ewing, of Edinburgh. The compends of Mr. Ewing were preferred to all others, by the late Dr. Porter, of Andover, whose critical knowledge and pure taste in relation to the art of elocution are so extensively appreciated.

The numerous rules on the manner of reading the *series*—so termed by elocutionists—may be differently viewed by instructors, according to the extent to which they follow Walker's authority. But there can be no diversity of opinion as to the utility of the other parts of the work, and, particularly, the many pieces in which the inflections of the voice are marked throughout by appropriate accents.

Respectfully yours,

WM. RUSSELL.

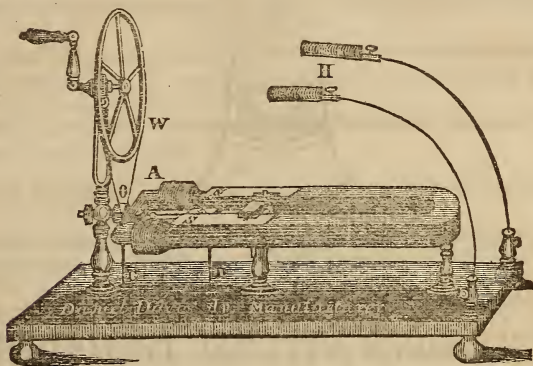
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I consider Frost's American Speaker to be the best compilation of the kind that has ever met my eye. The principles of elocution therein laid down are excellent, and well calculated to promote eloquence in every youthful American freeman. The extracts are of a high order, and, in general, breathe the spirit of liberty and independence. Giving you my best wishes for the success of the work,

I remain, very respectfully, yours, WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

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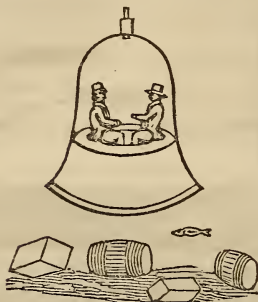
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A few notices of the series, from among many which have been received, are appended:



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---

*Extract from the Proceedings of the School Commissioners of the State of New Hampshire.*

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Voted, To recommend "Johnston's Natural Philosophy" to be used in the Common Schools of the State.

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*From M. J. WILLIAMS, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, South Carolina College, Columbia, S. C.*

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*Extract from the Record of the Proceedings of the Board of Visitors of the Natchez Institute, Natchez, Miss.*

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*Signed,*

L. M. PATTERSON, *Secretary.*

---

*From PROF. BOOTH, of the High School, Philadelphia.*

I find, upon a careful examination of Johnson's Manual of Chemistry, that it is extremely well adapted to the objects for which it is designed. As a text-book, I regard it as superior to Turner's Chemistry, on which it is based, being more condensed and practical, and yet sufficiently and equally presenting the late rapid advancement of the science.

---

*Extract from a Letter of F. MERRICK, Professor of Chemistry in the Ohio Wesleyan University and Starling Medical College, Columbus, Ohio.*

Having carefully examined Johnston's Turner's Chemistry, without specifying its particular excellencies, I am free to say that I regard it as an excellent text-book. Indeed to most students in the higher seminaries of learning, I know of no book upon the subject, which I would recommend in preference to it.

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*From JOHN F. FRASER, Professor of General Chemistry in the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.*

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*From SAMUEL RANDALL, Young Ladies' School, Walnut Street, Philad'a.*

Professor Johnston has done well in selecting Turner as a basis; and by a careful and skilful revision of that excellent work, he has given us a book admirably adapted to the higher classes in our best Institutions.

A class of young ladies in my school having recently finished the study of Professor Johnston's Natural Philosophy, with great satisfaction to both them and myself, I cannot refrain from bestowing upon the work my decided approbation. It would require too much space to enumerate its merits. I would merely say that, in my judgment, it is the best book of its kind.

SAMUEL RANDALL,  
*Young Ladies' School, Walnut Street, Philadelphia.*

---

*From the Literary Record.*

This book belongs to a rare species. It is better than its design, and performs more than it promises. It was prepared expressly for the tyros of science in our High Schools and Academies; and while we commend its admirable adaptation to that end, we also believe it to be equally well suited to the wants of a numerous class of general readers, who desire information upon physical subjects, but are deterred from seeking it in the larger and more abstruse treatises. It will also serve as a useful handbook for persons who, with little knowledge of Natural Philosophy, occasionally attend a public course of scientific lectures. We have not met with any book which seemed so well calculated as this to prepare the mind of an unscientific man to comprehend the popular lectures which are delivered every winter in our large towns and cities, and to derive instruction and benefit from them.

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*From R. T. BRUMLY, Professor of Chemistry in South Carolina College, Columbia, S. C.*

Having carefully examined Johnston's Turner's Elements of Chemistry for the use of schools, I take pleasure in expressing the opinion that it is what it professes to be, "a faithful compendium of the science in its present state," and that it is well suited to elementary instruction in male and female academies.

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KEITH ON THE GLOBES.

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HUGH MORROW,  
J. H. BLACK.

---

The following teachers of Baltimore, concur in the opinion above expressed:

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C. F. BANSEMAR,  
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of our country will allow; while it will be equally within the comprehen-  
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## MATHEMATICAL WORKS.

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In preparing this work, the author has adopted those explanations and demonstrations which an experience of many years in teaching, and a careful comparison of standard authors, have shown to be best. Without following the system of any other writer, he has derived important aid from the works of *Garnier, Bézout, Reynaud, Bourdon, Lacroix, Francœur, Euler, Hutton, Thomson, Goodwyn, Scott*, and the *Encyclopedia Metropolitana*. Many of his examples have been selected from the valuable edition of Hutton's Mathematics, by Professor Rutherford, of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.

This work covers the full course of Davies' Bourdon, and contains a new and beautiful demonstration of the Binomial Theorem in the case of an Exponent, by Professor PIKE POWERS, late of the University of Virginia.

---

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BY FRANCIS H. SMITH, A.M.

REVISED EDITION.

This work of M. Biot has more to recommend it than the mere style of composition, unexceptionable as that is. The mode in which he has presented the subject is so peculiar and felicitous, as to have drawn from the Princeton Review the high eulogium upon his work, of being "the most perfect scientific gem to be found in any language." Biot's Analytical Geometry is the basis upon which other works published in this country have been prepared.

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### NOTICES OF THE SERIES.

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*From the Board of Directors of the Literary Fund, Va.*

The Board of Directors of the Literary Fund having examined Smith and Duke's American Statistical Arithmetic, composed by Francis H. Smith, Esq., Superintendent and Professor of Mathematics in the Virginia Military Institute, take pleasure in recommending the work, especially for the purpose for which it is designed, "to prepare beginners for the study of the more advanced parts of the science." The plan of inculcating valuable statistical information in the illustration of arithmetical rules, is not only novel and attractive, but useful, and is doubtless calculated to make a strong impression on the minds of youth.

A true extract from the minutes.

Signed, J. BROWN, JR., *Second Auditor.*  
Office of the Literary Fund Board, Va.



## MATHEMATICAL WORKS.

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*From J. H. BROWN, A.M., Principal of Zane Street School, Philadelphia.*

It was with much pleasure that I examined the American Statistical Arithmetic, by Smith and Duke, and an Introduction to the same, by Francis H. Smith, A.M., both published by you. They are works of more than ordinary merit. With clear and definite Rules, they convey a large amount of valuable information not usually within the reach of students of Arithmetic. Their general introduction will aid the cause of sound instruction in the Schools and Academies of our country.

---

*Extract of a Letter of PROFESSOR POWERS, late of Virginia University.*

I consider it decidedly the best Arithmetic I have seen, not only as regards the valuable statistical information it contains, but also in its arrangement, and the very clear and simple explanations of the rules which it gives.

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### NOTICES OF SMITH'S ALGEBRA.

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*From PROF. P. POWERS, Late Professor of University of Virginia.*

I have been using your Algebra for nearly twelve months, and can truly say it answers my purpose better than any other I am acquainted with. It presents the leading principles of the science in a concise and simple form, and especially those higher principles which give beginners most trouble, so that I have never had my classes master them before with so little difficulty.

---

*From PROF. W. N. PENDLETON.*

The work which you have translated, I have, ever since becoming familiar with it, regarded as a masterpiece in that department of mathematical science—indeed, my feelings respecting it have always partaken much of the enthusiastic. It bears the evident stamp of genius, and embodies more of the beauties of ingenuity, simplicity, and generalization, than any other work of that class of subjects with which my mathematical studies have made me acquainted.

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*From the Virginian, Winchester, Va.*

A new Algebra, by Col. Francis A. Smith, the highly efficient and esteemed Superintendent of our Military Institute at Lexington, will require no eulogy of ours, in view of the rapid and entire success of the author's previous work, the Statistical Arithmetic. This work has all the prestige a city publisher can give it, and Virginians have thus all they demand before giving their encouragement to home productions. No Virginia school-boy will lose much by being *minus* Bonnycastle and *plus* Smith.

## MATHEMATICAL WORKS.

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### NOTICES OF SMITH'S BIOT'S ANALYTICAL GEOMETRY

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*From* PROF. JOHN B. STRANGE, *Norfolk Academy.*

I have seen your Algebra, and, after a careful examination of it, I do not hesitate to pronounce it an excellent work—the best on the subject that I have seen. I shall therefore adopt it immediately in the Academy. I am so much pleased with all your mathematical works which have appeared, that I trust your labours in this department will not cease until you have completed the whole course.

---

*From* A. W. MILLSPAUGH, *Principal of the Classical School, Farmville.*

It gives the definitions and some of the most abstruse parts of the science with greater clearness and perspicuity than any similar work with which I am acquainted—and I also think the copious examples given a great desideratum.

---

*From* PROF. SAUNDERS, *of William and Mary College.*

I have long lamented the defect in logical arrangement of most of the principal treatises on the subject of Analytical Geometry, with regard to one of its most important applications—*Conic Sections*. The student is informed that they are Conic Sections, because they result from the intersection of a plane in different positions with the surface of a Cone, but he is put in possession of their properties before any proof is given to him that they are what they are called. The very last step usually is, to show that they are Conic Sections. The treatise of *Biot* comes precisely up to my idea of the proper arrangement in this respect.

---

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*From the New York Evening Post.*

This appears to us a very able work, arranged with great order and method, and admirably adapted to the end it has in view. "I call the method, the Serial," says the author in the preface, "because the elements of our language are distributed and classified in a series, that is, in a naturally progressive and connected order, conformable to the nature of language and to the laws of acquisition of the understanding." The elements are arranged, each in its proper place, forming one great chain of connected and dependent links. With the aid of this Serial arrangement the student is led on by easy steps, from the simpler to the more complex part of the language, and acquires it without the vexatious labour, growing out of the artificial difficulties which false systems create. The term Oral indicates that the method communicates a knowledge of the spoken language.

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*Extract of a Letter from ALPHONSE BRUNNER, Professor of the French Language, Cincinnati.*

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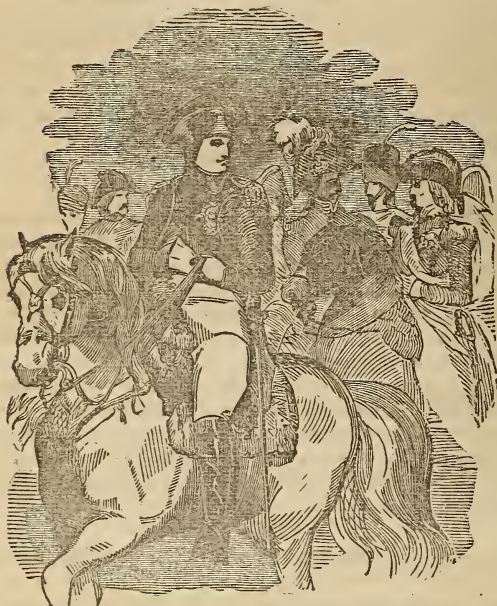
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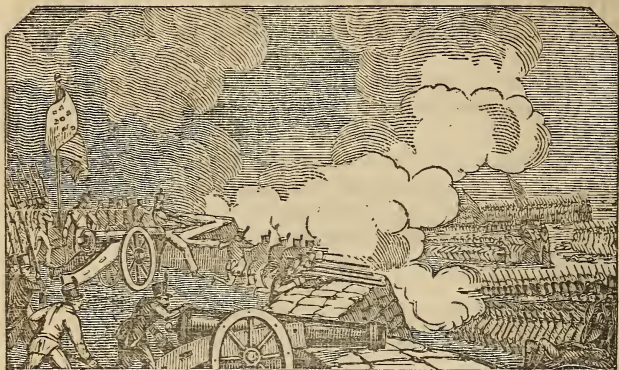
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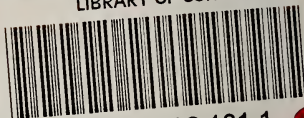
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